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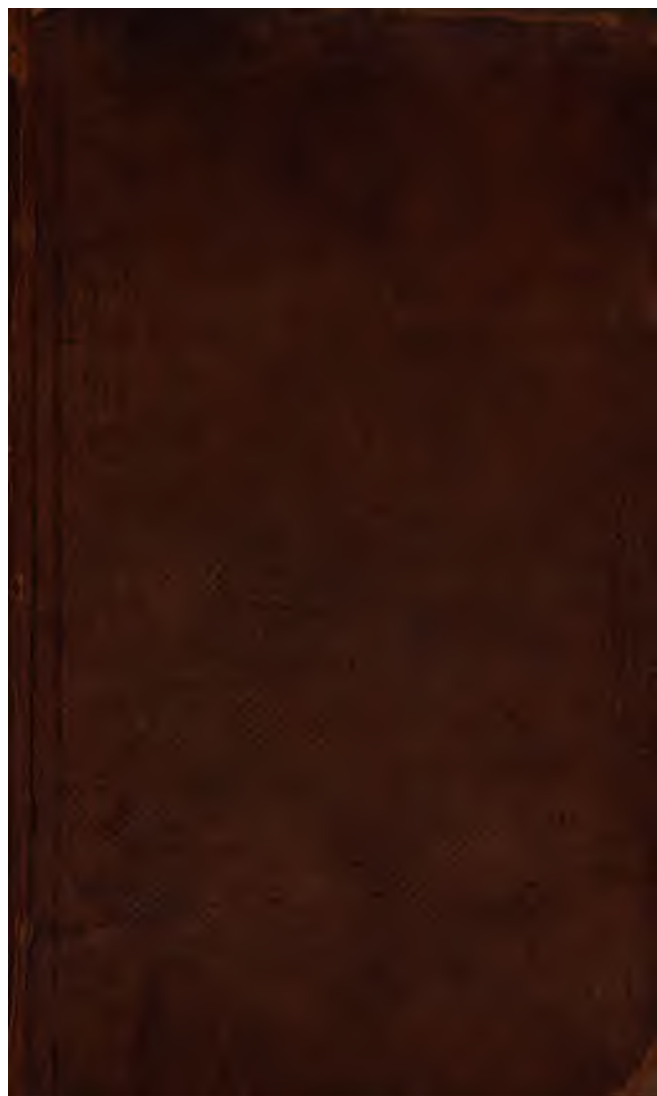
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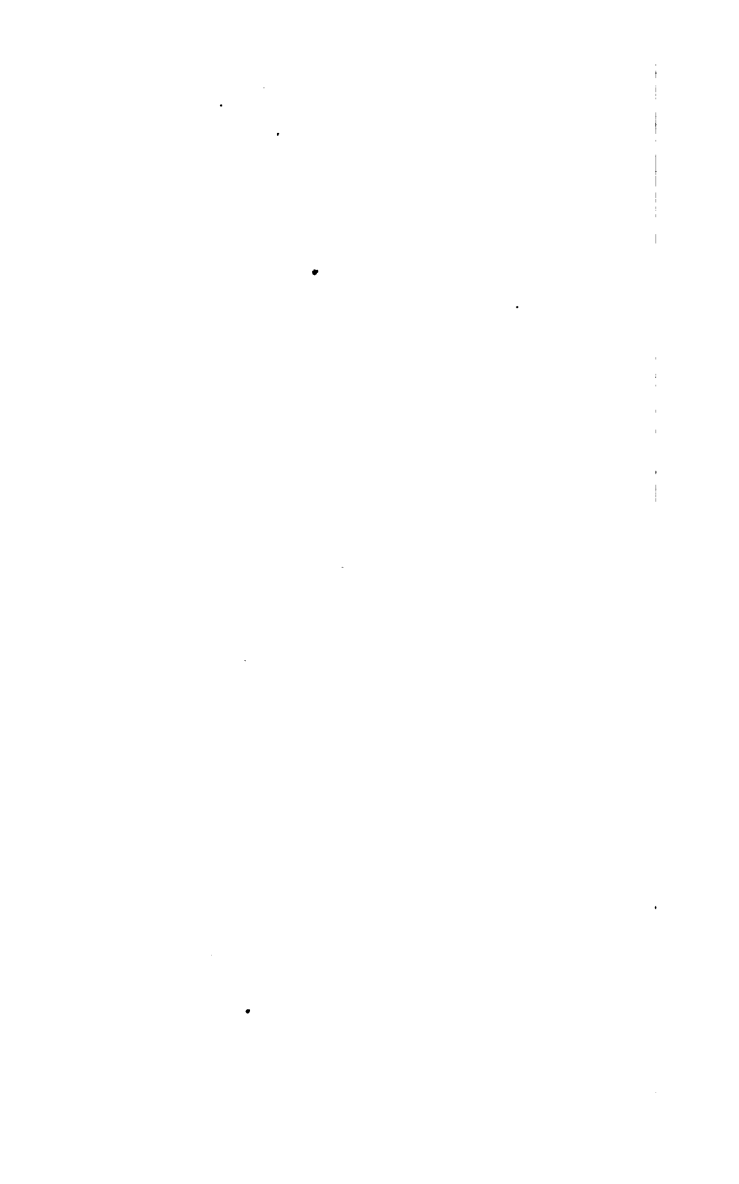
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**Charles XII.**







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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
CHARLES XII.  
KING of SWEDEN.

Translated from the *French* of the celebrated  
M. De VOLTAIRE;

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By W. H. DILWORTH.

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For the Improvement of the BRITISH  
Youth of both Sexes.

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# T H E H I S T O R Y O F C H A R L E S X I I . K I N G O F *S W E D E N* .

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## C H A P . I .

*Charles XII. his Education, Enemies, Enterprizes, and Designs; his first military Exploits, and Defeat of a vast Army of Muscovites.*

**C**HARLES XII. was the Son of *Charles XI.* King of *Sweden*, and of *Ulric-Eleonora*, daughter of *Frederick III.* King of *Denmark*, a princess distinguished by her virtue, and worthy of greater confidence than her husband reposed in her. She died in the year 1693, when her son was eleven years old, and her husband in 1697.

At six years of age he was taken from the women, and placed under the tuition of *Mr. de Norcødpenfer*, a man of wisdom and experience. The first book he was made to read was *Puffendorf's* introduction to the history of *Europe*, that he might have an early knowledge of his own dominions, and those of his neighbours. He afterwards learn'd the *German* language, which he always spoke for the future, as well as his mother tongue. At seven years of age he could manage an horse; and the

the violent exercises he delighted in, and which discovered his inclinations to war, laid the early foundations of a vigorous constitution, which enabled him to support the fatigues his natural disposition inclined him to undergo.

Though good natured in his infancy, he discovered an invincible obstinacy; the only way to gain upon him was to touch upon his honour: if they named but glory, they could obtain any thing from him. He had a great aversion to learn *Latin*; but when they told him, that the Kings of *Poland* and *Denmark* understood it, he soon applied himself to that language, and retained so much of it as enabled him to speak it all the rest of his life. They endeavoured to engage him to learn *French* after the same manner; but he could not be prevailed upon ever to make use of it.

As soon as he had some little knowledge in *Latin*, they made him translate *Quintus Curtius*; and he took a fancy to that book, which the subject inspired him with rather than the style. The person who explained this author to him, having asked him what he thought of *Alexander*, "I think," says the Prince, "that I would be like him;" but says the other, "He lived but two and thirty years." "Ah," replies he, "and is not that enough, when one has conquered Kingdoms?" They did not fail to carry these answers to the King his father, who, upon hearing them would cry out, "This child will excell me, and even go beyond the great *Gustavus*." One day he was diverting himself in the King's apartment with looking upon two plans, the one of a town in *Hungary*, taken by the *Turks* from the Emperor, and the other of *Riga* the capital of *Livonia*, a province conquered by the *Swedes* about a century ago. Under the plan of the town in *Hungary* were these words, taken from the

the book of Job, *The Lord gave it to me, the Lord hath taken it from me; blessed be the name of the Lord.* The young Prince, upon reading this, straight took a pencil, and wrote under the plan of *Riga*, *The Lord hath given it to me, and the Devil shall not take it from me.* Thus in the most indifferent actions of his childhood some little traces of his resolute disposition would often fall from him, which discovered what he would one day be.

Charles XII, upon his coming to the crown, not only found himself absolute and undisturbed master of Sweden and Finland, but also of Livonia, Carrelia, and Ingria; he was also possessed of Wilmar, Wibourg, the isles of Rugen, Oesel, and the most beautiful part of Pomerania, with the Dutchy of Bremen and Verden, all the conquests of his ancestors, and secured to the crown by long possession, and the solemn treaties of Munster and Oliva, supported by the terror of the Swedish arms. The peace of Ryfawick, begun under the direction of the father, was concluded under that of the son, and he found himself the mediator of Europe, from the first moment of his reign.

The laws of Sweden fix the majority of their Kings to the age of fifteen years. But Charles XI, who was entirely absolute, put off the majority of his son by his last will 'till he should come to be eighteen; and by this disposition he favoured the ambitious views of his mother *Eduiga-Eleonora* of Holstein, the Dowager of Charles X, who was appointed by the King her son to be guardian to the young King her grandson, and Regent of the Kingdom, in conjunction with a Council of five persons.

She kept him, as much as she could, from intermeddling with business. The young Prince usually passed his time in hunting, or reviewing

his troops, and would sometimes even exercise with them.

One day in the month of *November*, the same year that his father died, when he had been taking a review of several regiments, and *Piper* the counsellor of State stood by him, the King appeared quite lost in a depth of thought. "May I take the liberty," says *Piper* to him, of asking your Majesty upon what it is that your thoughts are so seriously employed?" "I am thinking," answers the King, "that I am capable of commanding those brave fellows yonder, and don't care that either they or I should receive orders from a woman." *Piper* immediately laid hold on the opportunity of raising his fortune, and knowing his own interest insufficient to venture on so dangerous an enterprise as the removal of the Queen from the regency, and hastening the King's majority, he proposed the affair to Count *Axel Sparre*, who was a man of spirit, and sought to make himself considerable. The counsellors of the regency were soon drawn into the Scheme, and hastily proceeded to the execution of it, that they might thereby the more readily recommend themselves to the King's esteem.

They went in a body to propose it to the Queen, who did not in the least expect such a declaration. The States General were then assembled, and the counsellors of the regency laid the matter before them. They were all unanimous in their approbation; so that *Charles XII.* did but wish to reign, and in three days the States conferred the government upon him. The Queen afterwards led a private life, which was more suitable to her age, though less to her humour. The King was crowned on the 24th of *December* following. He made his entry into *Stockholm* upon a sorrel horse, shod with

with silver, having a Sceptre in his hand, and a crown upon his head, amidst the acclamations of a whole people.

The ceremony of the consecration and coronation belongs to the Archbishop of *Upsal*. After having anointed the King according to custom, whilst he was holding the Crown in his hands, in order to put it upon his head, *Charles* snatched it, hastily from the Archbishop, and crown'd himself, looking sternly all the while upon the poor Prelate. The crowd, who are always easily imposed on by an air of grandeur, applauded this action of the King.

As soon as *Charles* was become master of the government, he gave his ear and the management of affairs to counsellor *Piper*, who was in reality his first Minister, though he wanted the name. He soon after created him a Count, which is a dignity of great eminence in *Sweden*.

The beginning of the King's administration did not raise any favourable ideas of him; he seemed to have been more impatient after rule, than deserving of it. Even the Ambassadors, who resided at his court, took him for a person of a mean capacity, and represented him as such to their masters. The *Swedes* had entertained the same opinion of him themselves, so that no one as yet knew his real character.

Three powerful Princes, taking the advantage of his youth, conspir'd his ruin almost at the same instant. The first was *Frederick IV.* King of *Denmark*, his cousin; the second *Augustus*, Elector of *Saxony*, and King of *Poland*; *Peter the Great*, Czar of *Moscow*, was the third, and the most dangerous. It will be necessary to lay open the original of these wars which produced such great events; and to begin with *Denmark*.

Of the two sisters of *Charles XII.* the eldest was married to the Duke of *Holstein*, a young Prince of great courage and good nature. The Duke, oppressed by the King of *Denmark*, came to *Stockholm* with his Princess, to throw himself into the King's protection, and ask his assistance, not only as he was his brother-in-law, but as King of a nation, which bore an irreconcilable hatred to the *Danes*.

*Frederick Augustus*, Elector of *Saxony*, King of *Poland*, was a Prince still less famous for his incredible strength of body, than for his bravery and gallantry of mind. He had bought one half of the voices of the *Polish* nobility, and forced the other by the approach of a *Saxon* army. He judged it necessary to have his troops about him for the better security of his throne; but he wanted a pretence for retaining them in *Poland*. These therefore were designed to be sent against the King of *Sweden* in *Livonia*, upon the occasion I am now going to relate.

*Livonia*, the most beautiful and fruitful province of the north, belong'd formerly to the Knights of the *Teutonic* Order. The *Moscowites*, *Poles*, and *Swedes*, had since severally disputed the possession of it. But *Sweden* had enjoyed it for near an hundred years, and was solemnly confirmed in it by the peace of *Oliwa*.

The late King *Charles XI.* in the exercise of his severities towards his subjects, had not spared the *Livonians*. He had taken from them their privileges, and part of their estates. *Patkul* was deputed by the Nobility of *Livonia* to bear to the throne the complaints of the province. He address'd his master in a manner very respectful. *Charles XI.* who knew how to dissemble, when he did not give himself up to the transports of his passion, gently

ly struck *Paskul* upon the shoulder; "You have spoke for your country, says he, like a brave man, and I love you for it; go on." But within a few days after he caused him to be declared guilty of high-treason, and as such to be condemned. *Paskul* made his escape, and carried his resentments with him into *Poland*. He was afterwards admitted into the presence of King *Augustus*. *Charles XI.* was dead, but the sentence of *Paskul* and his indignation yet survived. He represented to the King of *Poland* how easy it was to conquer *Livonia*; the people in despair, and ready to shake off the *Swedish* yoke; the King a child, and unable to defend himself. These solicitations were well received by a Prince, already tempted with the hopes of this conquest. All was immediately prepared for a sudden invasion, without even recourse had to the vain formality of declarations and manifestos. The storm grew thick at the same time on the side of *Moscow*.

*Peter Alexiowitz*, Czar of *Russia*, had already made himself formidable by the battle he had gained over the *Turks* in 1697, and by the conquest of *Asoph*, which opened to him the Empire of the *Black Sea*. But then he had only beaten *Tartars*, who were as ill disciplined as his own soldiers. To the character of Founder and Legislator of his Empire he longed to join that of conqueror. *Ingria*, which lies on the north-east of *Livonia*, had formerly belonged to the Czars; but from the time that *Gustavus Adolphus* had conquered those two provinces, the *Swedes* had been in the quiet possession of them both. The Czar was impatient to revive those rights, which had been given up by his ancestors. Besides, he wanted a port on the east-side of the *Baltick* sea for the execution of his great designs. He therefore concluded a league with



with the King of *Poland*, to take away from the *Swede* whatever he possessed in those countries, which lye between the gulph of *Finland*, the *Baltick* sea, *Poland*, and *Moscow*.

These then were the enemies, which were preparing all together to attack the infancy of *Charles XII*.

Their preparations alarmed the king's council, and they deliberated upon them in his presence; and as some of them were proposing to divert the storm by negotiations, *Charles* rising from his seat with an air of gravity and resolution, "Gentlemen, says he, I am resolved never to enter upon an unjust war, nor put an end to a just one but by the destruction of my enemies. My resolution is fixed. I will attack the first who shall declare against me, and when I have conquered him, I may hope to strike a terror into the rest." These words astonished all the old counsellors; and ashamed to hope less than their King, they received his orders for the war with admiration.

They were still more surprized, when they saw him of a sudden renounce all the most innocent amusements of youth. From the moment he prepared for war, he entered upon a new course of life, from which he never after departed even for a moment.

He began with assuring his Brother-in-law, the Duke of *Holstein*, of assistance. Eight thousand men were immediately sent into *Pomerania*, a province not far from *Holstein*, to strengthen the Duke against the attacks of the *Danes*. His dominions were already ravaged, the castle of *Gottorp* taken, and the town of *Tonningen* pressed by a close siege, to which the King of *Denmark* was come in person, to enjoy a conquest he thought secure. This small spark began to inflame the Empire. On one side the *Saxon* troops of the King of *Poland*, those

those of *Brandenbourg*, *Wolfenbuttle*, and *Hesse-Cassel* marched to join the *Danes*. On the other, the King of *Sweden*'s eight thousand men, the troops of *Hanover* and *Zell*, and three *Dutch* regiments, marched to assist the Duke. Whilst the little country of *Holstein* was thus made the theatre of the war, two squadrons, the one from *England*, and the other from *Holland*, appeared in the *Baltick*. These two Estates were guarantees of the treaty of *Altena*, which the *Danes* had broken. They joined themselves to the young King of *Sweden*, who seemed ready to be crushed by so many enemies, united together against him, and succoured him for the same reason the others fell upon him, because they thought him incapable of defending himself. In the mean time *Charles* set out for his first campaign on the 8th of *May* new style, in the year 1700. He left *Stockholm*, and never after returned thither. An immense body of people attended him as far as *Carelskroon*, offering up their prayers for him. Before he left *Sweden*, he established at *Stockholm* a council of defence, made up of several Senators. Their commission was to take care of all that regarded the fleet, the troops, and fortifications of the country. The body of the Senate was to regulate every thing besides provisionally within the kingdom. Having thus settled order and regularity in his dominions, his mind, now free from every other care, was bent wholly upon the war. His fleet consisted of three and forty vessels; that which carried him, named the King *Charles*, and the biggest they had ever seen, was a ship of 120 guns; Count *Piper* his first Minister, General *Renchild*, and the Count *de Guiscard*, Ambassador of *France* in *Sweden*, embarked with him. He joined the squadron of the allies. The *Danish* fleet declined

## The HISTORY of

declined the engagement, and gave the three united fleets the opportunity of drawing so near *Copenhagen*, as to throw some bombs into the town.

The King then, as in a sudden transport, taking Count *Piper* and General *Renschild* by the hands, "And what, says he, if we should lay hold of the opportunity of making a descent, and besiege *Copenhagen* by land, whilst it is blocked up by sea!" *Renschild* answered, "Sir, the great *Gustavus*, after fifteen years experience, would not have made any other proposition." Orders were immediately given for 5000 men to embark, who lay upon the coast of *Sweden*, and were joined to the troops they had on board. The King quitted his great vessel, and entered into a lighter frigate; and then they dispatched 300 grenadiers in small shallops towards the shore. Among these shallops were small flat bottomed boats, which carried the fascines, the chevaux de frize, and the instruments of the pioneers. Five hundred select men followed after in other shallops. Then came the King's men of war, with two *English* frigates and two *Dutch*, which were to favour the descent with their cannon.

Upon the unexpected movement of the vessels, which threatened a descent, the inhabitants in a consternation at the inactivity of their own fleet, and the motion of the *Swedish* ships, looked round with terror to see in what place the storm would fall. The fleet of *Charles* stop'd over against *Humblebeck*, within seven miles of *Copenhagen*. Immediately the *Danes* drew up their horse to that place. The foot were posted behind thick entrenchments, and what artillery they could get thither was directed against the *Swedes*.

The King then quitted his frigate, to throw himself into the first shallop, at the head of his  
Guards :

Guards. They advanced under cover of the cannon of the vessels, which favoured the descent. The small boats were but about a hundred yards off the shore; *Charles*, impatient to land, threw himself from the shallop into the sea, with his sword in his hand, and the water above his middle. His Ministers, the officers and soldiers immediately followed his example, and marched to shore, amidst a shower of musket-shot, which the *Danes* discharged. The King asked major *Stuart*, who stood next him, "What whiffing that was which he had in his ears?" "'Tis the noise of the musket-balls which they fire upon you," says the major. "That's right, says the King, hence-forward it shall be my musick." And that moment the major, who explained the noise to him, received a shot in his shoulder; and a lieutenant on the other side of him fell dead at his feet. The *Danish* horse and foot took to their heels after a faint resistance. As soon as the King was master of their intrenchments he fell upon his knees to thank God for the first success of his arms. He immediately caused redoubts to be raised towards the town, and himself marked out the encampment. At the same time he sent back his vessels to *Schonen*, a part of *Sweden* not far from *Copenhagen*, for fresh recruits of 9000 men. Every thing conspired to assist the vivacity of *Charles*. The 9000 men were upon the shore ready to embark; and the next morning a favourable wind brought them to him.

All this passed within sight of the *Danish* fleet; who durst not venture to interpose. *Copenhagen* in a fright sent deputies immediately to the King, to intreat him not to bombard the town. He received them on horseback at the head of his regiment of guards; and the deputies fell upon their knees

knees before him. He demanded of the town 400,000 rixdollars, with orders to supply his camp with all sorts of provisions, which he promised they should be honestly paid for. They brought him the provisions, and were astonished to find that they were paid generously and without delay by the meanest soldiers in the army. Prayers were constantly said in his camp twice a day, at seven in the morning, and four in the afternoon; and he never failed to be present at them himself, to give his soldiers an example of piety as well as valour.

The King of *Denmark*, who was then in *Holstein*, saw the *Baltick* covered with his enemy's ships, a young conqueror already master of *Zealand*, and ready to take possession of the capital. He published a declaration, that whoever would take up arms against the *Swedes* should have their liberty. This declaration was of great weight in a country, where all the peasants, and even many of the townsmen, were slaves. But *Charles XII.* was in no fear of an army of slaves. He let the King of *Denmark* know that he made war for no other reason but to oblige him to make peace; and that he must either resolve to do justice to the Duke of *Holstein*, or see *Copenhagen* destroyed, and his kingdom put to fire and sword. A congress was appointed to meet in the town of *Travendal*, on the frontiers of *Holstein*. The King of *Sweden* would have the treaty finished with as much rapidity as he made his descent into *Zealand*. And it was effectually concluded on the 5th of *August*, to the advantage of the Duke of *Holstein*, who was indemnified from all the expences of the war, and delivered from oppression. The King would accept of nothing for himself, being satisfied with having relieved his ally, and humbled his

his enemy. Thus *Charles XII.* at eighteen years of age, began and ended this war in less than six weeks.

At the same time the king of *Poland* laid siege in person to the town of *Riga*, the capital of *Lithuania*; and the Czar was upon his march on the east at the head of 100,000 men. *Riga* was defended by the old Count *d'Alberg*, a *Swedish* General, who at the age of fourscore joined all the air of youth to the experience of sixty campaigns. Count *Flemming*, since Minister of *Poland*, a great man both in the field and at the council-board, and Mr. *Patkul*, carried on the siege under the King's direction; the one with all the activity proper to his character, and the other with the utmost obstinacy of revenge. But the experience of the old Count *d'Alberg* render'd all their efforts fruitless, and the King of *Poland* despaired of gaining the town. He at last laid hold of an honourable opportunity of raising the siege. *Riga* was full of merchants goods, belonging to the *Dutch*. The States General ordered their Ambassador attending upon King *Augustus*, to make proper representations of it to him. The King of *Poland* consented to raise the siege, rather than occasion the least damage to his allies.

No more then remained for *Charles XII.* to do for finishing his first campaign, than to march against his rival in glory, *Peter Alexiowitz*. He was the more enraged against him, as there were still three *Moscowite* Ambassadors at *Stockholm*, who had lately sworn to renew an inviolable peace. The Emperor of *Moscow* published a manifesto, and alledged for a reason of the war, that they had not paid him sufficient honours, when he passed *incognito* to *Riga*: and that they sold provisions too dear to his Ambassadors. These were the injuries, for which he ravaged *Ingria* with 100,000 men.

He appeared before *Narva* at the head of this great army on the first of *October*, in a season more severe in that climate than the month of *January* is at *Paris*.

The Czar was no sooner arrived before the place, than he marked out his camp, fortified it on all sides, raised redoubts at certain distances, and opened the trench himself. He had given the command of his army to the *Duke de Croÿ* a German, and an able General, but at that time very little assisted by the *Moscovite* Officers. For himself, he had only the rank of a private lieutenant in his own troops. He had a mind to teach them, that places in the army were to be obtained by services; he began himself with beating a drum, and was raised to an officer by degrees.

On the 15th of *November*, he had information that the King of *Sweden* having crossed the sea with 200 transports, was upon his march to relieve *Narva*. The *Swedes* were no more than 20,000, but the Czar had no advantage except the superiority of number. Far therefore from despising his enemy, he employed all the art he had to crush him; and not content with 100,000 men, he was getting ready another army to oppose him, and check his progress. He had already given orders for near 40,000 recruits, who were coming up from *Plescow* with great expedition. He went in person to hasten their march, that he might hem in the King between the two armies. Nor was this all; a detachment of 30,000 from the camp before *Narva* were posted at a league's distance from the town, directly in the King of *Sweden*'s road: 20,000 were placed farther off upon the same road, and 5000 others made up an advanced guard; and he must necessarily force his way through the body of all these troops before he could reach the camp, which was fortified with a rampart and double fosse.

The

The King of Sweden had landed at *Pernaw* in the gulph of *Riga*, with about 16000 foot, and a few more than 4000 horse.

From *Pernaw* he made a flying march as far as *Revel*, followed by all his horse, and only 4000 of his foot. But he always marched before, without waiting for the rest of his troops; and soon found himself with his 8000 men only, before the first posts of the enemy. He without hesitation attacked them one after another, without giving them time to learn with how small a number they had to engage. The *Moscovites* seeing the *Swedes* come upon them, made no doubt but they had a whole army to encounter; and the advanced guard of 5000 men immediately fled upon their approach. The 20,000 beyond them, terrified with the flight of their countrymen, made no resistance; and carried their consternation and confusion among the 30,000, who were posted within a league of the camp; and the panic seizing upon them too, they retired to the main body of the army without striking a blow. These three posts were carried in two days and a half; and what upon other occasions would have been reckoned three victories, did not retard the King's march the space of one hour. He appeared then at last with his 8000 men, wearied with the fatigues of so long a march, before a camp of 100,000 *Moscovites*, with 150 pieces of brass cannon in their front: And he scarce allow'd them any time for rest, before he gave his orders for the attack without delay.

The signal was two fuses, and the word in German, *With the aid of God*. A general Officer having represented to him the great hazard of the attempt, "What, says he, do you make any question whether I, with my 8000 brave *Swedes*,



"shall not rout 100,000 *Moscovites*?" But upon recollection, fearing there was too much ostentation in what he said, he ran after the officer in a moment, "And are not you, says he, of the same opinion? Have not I a double advantage over the enemy; the one, that their horse can be of no service to them; and the other, that the place being strait, their great number will only incommode them, and thus in reality I shall be stronger than they?" The Officer did not think fit to differ from him, and thus they marched against the *Moscovites* about noon on the 30th of *November*, 1700.

As soon as the cannon of the *Suedes* had made a breach in the entrenchments, they advanced with their bayonets at the end of their fuses; at the same time a violent storm of snow, which fell at their backs, was driven by the wind full in the face of the enemy. The *Moscovites* stood their fire for half an hour, without quitting their posts. The King attack'd the Czar's quarter, which lay on the other side of the camp, and was in hopes of a rencounter, not knowing that the Emperor was gone in quest of the 40,000 men, who were daily expected. Upon the first discharge of the enemies shot, the King received a ball in his left shoulder, but it grazed only in a slight manner upon the flesh; his activity even hindered him from perceiving that he was wounded. Presently after his horse was killed under him. A second had his head carried off by a cannon-ball. And as he was nimbly mounting a third. "These fellows, says he, make me exercise;" and then he went on to engage and give orders with the same presence of mind as before. Within three hours the entrenchments were carried on all sides. The King pursued the right of the enemy as far as the river of *Narva*,

*Narva*, with his left wing, if one might properly call by that name about 4000 men, who were in pursuit of near 50,000. The bridge broke under them as they fled, and the river was in a moment covered with the dead. The rest in despair returned to their camp, without knowing whither they went; and finding certain barracks, they took their posts behind them. There they defended themselves for a while, as not knowing how to make their escape. But at last their Generals *Dolborouky*, *Golluin*, and *Fedorowitz* surrendered themselves to the King, and laid their arms at his Majesty's feet. And in the instant they were offering them came up the Duke of *Croy* the General of the army, to surrender himself with thirty officers.

*Charles* received all these prisoners of distinction with as easy a politeness, and as obliging an air, as if he had been to pay them the honours of an entertainment in his own court. He only detained the general officers, all the subalterns and common soldiers were disarmed and conducted to the river of *Narva*, where they were furnished with boats to carry them over, and return them back to their own homes. In the mean time night came on, and the left wing of the *Moscovites* still continued fighting. The *Swedes* had not lost 1500 men; 18,000 *Moscovites* had been killed in their intrenchments; a great number were drowned; many had passed the river; but still there remained enough in the camp to exterminate the *Swedes* even to the last man. The King employed the small remains of the day in seizing upon the enemy's artillery. He posted himself to advantage between their camp and the town, and there slept some hours on the ground, wrapt up in his cloak, expecting to fall at day-break upon the

left wing of the enemy, which was not yet entirely routed. But at two o'clock in the morning General *Wade*, who commanded that wing, having heard of the gracious reception the King had given to the other Generals, and how he had sent home all the subaltern officers and soldiers, desired that he would grant him the same favour. The conqueror made answer, that he should have it if he would draw near at the head of his troops, and lay down his arms and colours at his feet. The General appeared soon after with his *Moscovites*, to the number of about 30,000. They marched soldiers and officers, with their heads uncovered, across less than 7000 *Swedes*. The soldiers, as they passed before him, threw down their fuses and swords upon the ground, and the officers presented him with their ensigns and colours. He caused the whole multitude to cross the river, without retaining a single soldier prisoner. If he had put them under guard, the number of the prisoners would at least have been five times greater than that of the conquerors.

He then entered victorious into *Narva*, attended by the Duke of *Croy* and the other general officers of the *Moscovites*. He ordered their swords to be restored to them, and being informed that they wanted money, and that the tradesmen of *Narva* refused to trust them, he sent the Duke of *Croy* 1000 ducats, and every *Moscovite* officer 500, who could never sufficiently admire the civility of their treatment. Immediately a relation of the victory was drawn up at *Narva* to be sent to *Stockholm* and the allies of *Sweden*, but the King cut off with his own hand whatever was reported too much to his own advantage, or to the detriment of the Czar. His modesty could not hinder their striking at *Stockholm* several medals to perpetuate the memory

mory of these events. Among the rest they struck one, which represented him on the one side standing on a pedestal, to which were chained a *Moscowite*, a *Dane*, and a *Polander*; and on the reverse an *Hercules* armed with his club, treading upon a *Cerberus*, with this inscription, *TRES UNO CONTUDIT ICTU*, *He knock'd down three at one stroke.*

The Czar was advancing by long marches with an army of 40,000 *Russians*, in expectation of surrounding his enemy on all sides. In the mid-way he had intelligence of the battle of *Narva*, and the dispersion of his whole camp. He judged it not convenient with his 40,000 raw and undisciplined men, to engage with a conqueror, who had lately destroyed 100,000 intrenched in their camp. He returned back from whence he came, still pursuing his resolution of disciplining his troops, at the same time that he civilized his subjects. "I know," says he, "the *Swedes* will beat us for some time, but in time they will teach us to beat them." *Moscow*, his capital, was in the utmost terror and confusion, at the news of this defeat. And so great was the pride and ignorance of the people, that they could not be persuaded but they had been conquered by more than human power, and that the *Swedes* had been victorious by the force of magic. This opinion was so general, that public prayers were ordered to be put up to St. *Nicholas*, the patron of *Moscow*, upon the occasion.

Whilst the *Moscowites* were thus complaining of their defeat to St. *Nicholas*, Charles XII. returned thanks to God, and prepared himself for new victories.

## C H A P. II.

*Charles beats the Saxons at the passage of the Duna ; conquers Courland ; is master of Lithuania ; resolves to dethrone Augustus. The battle of Craffau.*

THE King of *Poland* with reason expected, that his enemy, already victorious over the *Danes* and the *Moscovites*, would come next to vent his fury on him. He entered into a league more strict than ever with the Czar, and the two Princes agreed upon an interview; the better to contrive their measures. They met at *Birsen*, a small town in *Lithuania*, without any of those formalities, which serve only to retard business.

Count *Piper* had the first information of the interview intended between the Emperor of *Moscow* and the King of *Poland*. He advised his master to oppose to their measures a little policy. There was in the *Swedish* troops a young *Scotch* gentleman, who was one of those who seasonably leave their country, where they are very poor, and are to be met with in all the armies of *Europe*. He spoke the *German* tongue extremely well, and could easily accommodate himself to every conjuncture. Him therefore they chose to be a spy upon the conferences of the two Kings. He applied himself to the Colonel of the regiment of *Saxon* horse, who were to serve as guards to the Czar during the interview. He passed for a gentleman of *Brandenburgh*, and his address and a proper distribution of money easily procured him a lieutenancy in the regiment. When he came to *Birsen* he artfully insinuated himself into the familiarity of the secreta-  
rica

ries of the ministers, and was made a party in all their pleasures; and by one means or other drew from them all the secrets of their masters, and gave immediate notice of them to *Charles XII.*

The King of *Poland* had engaged to furnish the Czar with 50,000 *German* troops, and which the Czar was to pay for, who on the other hand was to send 50,000 *Moscovites* into *Poland*, to be trained up to war, and promised to pay King *Augustus* three millions of rixdollars in two years. This treaty, if it had been executed, might have proved fatal to the King of *Sweden*.

*Charles XII.* used his utmost endeavours to prevent the King of *Poland* from reaping the benefit of this treaty. After he had passed the winter at *Narva*, he appeared in *Livonia* near that very town of *Riga*, which King *Augustus* had so unsuccessfully besieged. The *Saxon* troops were posted along the river *Duna*, which is very broad in that place, and *Charles*, who lay on the other side of the river, was to dispute the passage. The *Saxons* were headed by *Mareschal Stenau*, and Prince *Ferdinand Duke of Courland*, who commanded under him. The King of *Sweden* caused great boats to be made after a new manner, whose sides were far higher than ordinary, and could be raised or let down, like a draw-bridge. When raised they covered the troops they carried; and when let down, they served as a bridge to land them. He made use likewise of another stratagem. Having observed that the wind blew directly from the north; when he lay to the south, where his enemies were encamped, he set fire to a large heap of wet straw, which diffusing a thick smoke over the river, hindered the *Saxons* from seeing his troops, or judging what he was about to do. By means of this cloud he sent out barks laden with more of the same smoking  
straw

straw, so that the cloud increasing, and being driven by the wind directly in the face of his enemies, it made it impossible for them to know whether he was upon his passage or not. He being got into the midst of the river, "Well, says he to General *Renschild*, the *Duna* will be as good to us as the sea of *Copenhagen*; take my word for it, General, we shall beat them." He got to the other side in a quarter of an hour. He immediately landed his cannon, and drew up his troops before the enemy, who were quite blinded with smoke, and could not make any opposition but by a few random shot. And the wind having dispersed the mist, the *Saxons* saw the King of *Sweden* already upon his march against them.

Mareschal *Stenau*, at the first appearance of the *Swedes*, fell furiously upon them with the flower of his horse. The violent shock of that troop falling upon the *Swedes* in the instant they were forming their battallions, threw them into disorder. They gave way, were broken, and pursued even into the river. The King of *Sweden* rallied them in a moment in the midst of the water. The soldiers then, marching more compact than before, beat back Mareschal *Stenau*, and advanced into the plain. *Stenau* finding his troops in a consternation, made them retire very dextrously into a dry place, flanked with a morass, and a wood where his artillery lay. The advantage of the ground, and the time he had given the *Saxons* to recover from their first surprize, restored them to their courage. *Charles* immediately fell upon them, having with him 15,000 men, and *Stenau* and the Duke of *Courland* about 12,000. The battle was sharp and bloody; the Duke had two horses killed under him, and thrice penetrated into the midst of the King's guard; but being at last beat off his horse, his army fell

fell into confusion, and disputed the victory no longer. His cuirassiers carried him off with difficulty, greatly bruised and half dead.

The King of *Sweden*, after this victory, marched immediately to *Mittau*, the capital of *Courland*, and took it. All the towns of the Dutchy surrendered to him at discretion. He passed without delay into *Lithuania*, and conquered wherever he came.

It was in this place that he laid the design of dethroning the King of *Poland* by the hands of the *Poles* themselves. As he was one day at table, wholly taken up with the thoughts of this enterprize, a *German* Colonel who waited upon him, said loud enough to be heard, that the meals which the Czar and the King of *Poland* had made in the same place were something different from those of his Majesty. "Yes," says the King, rising, "and I shall the more easily spoil their digestion."

The King of *Poland* at first flattered himself that in his necessity, his two armies, one in *Poland*, and the other in *Lithuania*, would fight for him, that the *Polish* *Pospolite*, or crown army would arm at his orders, and that all these forces, joined to the *Saxons* his subjects and the *Moscovites* his allies, would make up a body, before which the small number of the *Swedes* would not venture to appear. But he saw himself almost on a sudden deprived of these succours by the very care that he had taken to have them all together.

*Lithuania* was then divided into two parties, that of the Princes of *Sapieha*, and that of *Oginsky*. These two factions had begun from private quarrels, and degenerated into a civil war. The King of *Sweden* drew over to his interest the Princes of *Sapieha*; and *Oginsky* being but badly assisted by the *Saxons*, found his party almost extinguished. The *Lithuanian* army whom these troubles and want



of money had reduced to a small number was in part dispersed by the conqueror. The few who held out for the King of *Poland* were separated into small bodies of wandering troops, which over-ran the country and subsisted by spoil.

There was indeed an army in *Poland*, but instead of 36,000 men, the number prescribed by the laws, it hardly consisted of 18,000, ill paid and ill armed.

The King's best refuge was to order the Nobility to follow him; but he durst not expose himself to a refusal, which would have too much discovered his weakness, and consequently increased it.

In this state of trouble and uncertainty all the Palatinates of the Kingdom demanded a Diete of the King. He was obliged to call one, that he might not exasperate the nation beyond a possibility of reconciliation. A Diete therefore was appointed to meet at *Warsaw* on the second of *December*, 1701. And he soon perceived that *Charles XII.* had at least as much power in that assembly as himself.

The most dangerous enemy the King of *Poland* had, was Cardinal *Radjouky*, Archbishop of *Gnesna*, Primate of the kingdom, and President of the Diete. A man full of artifice and reserve in his conduct; entirely governed by an ambitious woman, whom the *Swedes* called *Madame la Cardinale*, who never ceased to push him on to intrigue and faction.

He at first seemed desirous of reconciling the King with the Republic: He sent circular letters, dictated in appearance by the spirit of concord and charity: He wrote a pathetic letter to the King of *Sweden*, conjuring him in the name of Him, whom all Christians equally adore, to give peace to *Poland* and her King. *Charles XII.* answered the Cardinal's

dinal's intentions more than his words. In the mean time he remained in the great Dutchy of *Lithuania* with his victorious army, declaring that he would not disturb the Diete; that he made war against *Augustus* and the *Saxons*, and not against *Poland*; and that far from designing any thing against the Republic, he came to rescue it from oppression. These letters and these answers were for the public. The emissaries who went and came continually from the Cardinal to Count *Piper*, and the private assemblies held at that Prelate's house, where the springs that moved the Diete. They proposed to send an embassy to *Charles XII.* and required with one consent of the King, that he should bring no more *Moscovites* upon their frontiers, and that he should send back the *Saxon* troops.

The bad fortune of *Augustus* had already done what the Diete demanded of him. The league secretly concluded with the *Moscovites* at *Birsén* was become as insignificant, as at first it had appeared formidable. He was far from being able to send the Czar the 50,000 *Germans* he had promised to raise in the Empire. The Czar contented himself with sending 20,000 *Moscovites* into *Lithuania*, who did more mischief there than the *Swedes*, flying continually before the conqueror, and ravaging the lands of the *Poles*, 'till at last being pursued by the *Swedish* Generals, and finding nothing more to pillage, they returned in shoals to their own country. As for the scattered remains of the *Saxon* army beaten at *Riga*, King *Augustus* sent them to winter and recruit in *Saxony*, that this sacrifice, however involuntary, might soften the rage of the incensed *Poles*.

The Diete broke up in disorder on the 17th of *February*, 1702, after three months of caballing and irresolution. The Senators, who are the Pa-

latines, and the Bishops, remained at *Warsaw*. The Senate of *Poland* has a right to make laws provisionally, which the Dietes seldom disannul. This body, being not so numerous, was far less tumultuous, and came to a determination more quickly.

They agreed to send the embassy to the King of *Sweden* proposed in the Diete, that the *Pospolite* should mount their horses, and be ready upon all emergencies. They made several regulations to appease the troubles in *Lithuania*, and still more to diminish the King's authority.

*Augustus* determined to ask peace of the King of *Sweden*, and would have concluded a private treaty with him. But he was obliged to conceal this step from the Senate, whom he look'd upon as an enemy still more untractable. As the affair was delicate, he entrusted it wholly to the Countess of *Königsmarck*, a *Swedish* lady of great birth, to whom he was then attached. This lady, who was so famous in the world for her wit and beauty, was more capable than any minister whatever to give success to a negotiation. Besides, as she had an estate in *Charles XIIth's* dominions. and had lived long in his court, she had a plausible pretence for waiting upon him. She came then to the *Swedish* camp in *Lithuania*, and straight applied herself to Count *Piper*, who too inadvertently promised her an audience of his master.

All her wit and charms were lost upon such a man as the King of *Sweden*, and he constantly refused to see her. But as he frequently rode out to take the air, she resolved to speak to him upon the road. And accordingly meeting him one day in a narrow road, she alighted out of her coach, as soon as she saw him. The King made her a  
low

low bow, without speaking one word to her, turned his horse, and rode back in an instant.

The King in this extremity sent one of his Chamberlains to *Charles*, to know of him, where and how his *Swedish* Majesty would receive the embassy of the King his master and of the Republic. They had unhappily neglected to demand a pass-port for his Chamberlain to the *Swedes*. And the King of *Sweden* imprisoned him; instead of giving him audience, and said that he expected to receive an embassy from the Republic, and not from King *Augustus*.

*Charles* then leaving garrisons behind him in some towns of *Lithuania*, advanced beyond *Grodno*, a place famous for the Dietes that are held there.

At some miles from *Grodno* he met the embassy of the Republic, which consisted of six Senators. The *Wairwode Galecky*, and Count *Tarla*, were appointed to deliver it. The King gave them audience in his tent, with a pomp which he had always disdained, but then thought necessary. The King treated each Ambassador in private with friendship and confidence. But when he came to give his answer to the Republic which sent them, he told them by Count *Piper*, that he would give an answer at *Warsaw*.

The same day he marched towards that town. This march was preceded by a *Manifesto*, which the Cardinal and his party spread over *Poland* in eight days. By this writing *Charles* invited all the *Poles* to join their revenge with his, and pretended to shew that their interest and his were the same. They were obliged to own *Charles* for their protector, since he was resolved to be so.

Mean while the King of *Sweden* arrived before *Warsaw*, on the 5th of *May*, 1702. The gates were opened to him upon the first summons. He

sent away the *Polish* garrison, dismissed the city guard, every where posted guards of his own, ordered the inhabitants to bring in their arms, and, content with having disarmed them, and not willing to exasperate them, he demanded no more of them than a contribution of 100,000 francs. King *Augustus* was then getting together his forces at *Cracow*, and was much surprized to see the Cardinal Primate one of the company. That man, pretended to keep up the decency of his character to the last, and to dethrone his King with all the respectful behaviour of a good subject. He told him that the King of *Sweden* appeared disposed to a reasonable accommodation, and humbly begged leave that he might attend him. King *Augustus* granted him what he could not refuse, that is, the liberty to prejudice his affairs.

The Cardinal Primate, thus covering the baseness of his conduct by the addition of treachery, hastened to the King of *Sweden*. He found him in company with the Duke of *Holstein* his brother-in-law, Count *Piper* his first Minister, and several general officers. The King advanced some steps to meet the Cardinal, and they had a conference together standing, of about a quarter of an hour, which *Charles* put an end to by saying aloud, “ I will never give the *Poles* peace till they have elected another King.”

Upon this news the King of *Poland* saw plainly, that he must either lose his crown, or preserve it by arms. All his *Saxon* troops were arrived from the frontiers of *Saxony*. The Nobility of the Palatinate of *Cracow*, where he still remained, came in a body to offer him their services.

The two Kings met on the 19th of *July* 1702, in a very spacious plain near *Clissau* between *Warsaw* and *Cracow*. *Augustus* had near 24,000 men,  
and

and *Charles XII.* not above 12000. Upon the first volley, which was discharged by the *Saxons*, the Duke of *Holstein* who commanded the *Swedish* horse, received a cannon-ball in the reins. The King enquired if he was dead, and being told that he was; he spurred his horse with fury, and rushed into the thickest of the enemy, at the head of his guards.

The King of *Poland* thrice led up his troops in person to the charge; but the ascendant of *Charles XII.* carried it, and gained a complete victory. He made no stay upon the field of battle, but marched straight to *Cracow*, pursuing the King of *Poland*, who fled before him.

The citizens of *Cracow* shut their gates upon the conqueror. He caused them to be burst open, and took the castle by assault. His soldiers did not offer the least ill-treatment to any one citizen; but the King made them pay sufficiently for the temerity of their resistance, by charging them with excessive contributions.

He departed from *Cracow* in the full resolution of pursuing *Augustus* without intermission. But within some miles from the city his horse fell under him, and broke his thigh. They were obliged to carry him back to *Cracow*, where he was confined to his bed for six weeks in the hands of his surgeons. This accident gave *Augustus* leisure to breathe a little. He caused it immediately to be spread throughout *Poland* and *Germany*, that *Charles XII.* was killed by his fall. In this small interval he assembles all the orders of the Kingdom at *Mariembourg*, and then at *Lublin*, who had before been called together at *Sandomir*. The Diete were soon undeceived concerning the false report of the King of *Sweden's* death; but all its members swore to continue faithful to King *Augustus*.

In the mean time *Charles XII.* recovered of his wound, and overturn'd all before him. Always fixt in his resolution of forcing the *Poles* themselves to dethrone their King, by the intrigues of the Cardinal Primate, he caused a new assembly to be called together at *Warsaw*, to oppose that of *Lublin*.

He left the assembly of *Warsaw* to dispute by discourses and writings with that, and having augmented his victorious troops with 6000 horse and 8000 foot, which he received from *Sweden*, he marched against the remains of the *Saxon* army he had beaten at *Cliffau*, which had gained time to rally and recruit, whilst he was confined to his bed. This army shun'd his approach, and retir'd towards *Prussia*. The river *Bugb* lay between them. *Charles* swam over it at the head of his horse, whilst the foot went to seek a ford somewhat higher. On *May 1, 1703*, he came up with the *Saxons* at a place called *Paltusk*. They were commanded by General *Stenau* to the number of about 10,000, The terror of the King's arms was so great, that one half of the *Saxon* army ran away at his approach, without staying for the battle, General *Stenau* stood firm for a while with two regiments, but at last was drawn along in the general flight of his army.

*Augustus*, with the scattered remains of the *Saxons* retired in haste to *Thorn*. *Charles* immediately prepared to besiege it. The King of *Poland*, not thinking himself secure, withdrew into *Saxony*. In the mean time *Charles* not being able to bring up his cannon before *Thorn*, was obliged to wait till it was sent him from *Sweden* by sea.

Mean while he took up his quarters within some miles of the City, and would often advance too near the ramparts, to view it. The plain dress he always wore was of greater service to him than he  
had

had ever imagined in these dangerous walks. It hindered him from being pointed out by the enemy, as a person to be fired at. One day having approached very near with one of his Generals named *Lieven*, who was dress'd in scarlet trim'd with gold, and fearing lest the General should be perceived, he straight ordered him to walk behind him.

*Lieven* discerning his error too late, and fearing equally for the King in whatever place he was, hesitated a while whether he ought to obey him; in the moment while this contest lasted, the King takes him by the arm, puts himself before him, and hides him; at the same instant a cannon ball struck the General dead upon that very spot which the King had scarce quitted. The death of this man, killed directly in his stead, contributed not a little to confirm him in the notion he ever held of absolute predestination.

Whilst he lay before *Thorn*, the city of *Dantzick* ventured to disoblige him. Fourteen frigates and forty transport vessels were bringing the King a supply of 6000 men, with cannon and ammunition to finish the siege of *Thorn*. These succours must necessarily pass up the *Weissel*. At the mouth of this river lyes *Dantzick*. Count *Steinbock* assembled the magistrates in the King's name, demanding a passage for the troops, and some ammunition. The Magistrates durst neither absolutely refuse, nor expressly grant what he demanded. General *Steinbock* made them give by force more than he had asked; and farther exacted from the town a contribution of 100,000 crowns by way of recompence for their imprudent denial. At last the recruits, the cannon and ammunition being arrived before *Thorn*, the siege was begun on the 22d of September.

*Rouel,*



*Rovel*, governor of the place, defended it a month with a garrison of 5000 men. And then it was forced to surrender at discretion. The garrison were made prisoners of war, and sent into *Sweden*. *Rovel* was presented to the King unarmed. His Majesty gave him a sword with his own hand, made him a considerable present in money, and sent him away upon his parole. This poor petty town was condemned to pay 40,000 crowns; an excessive contribution for such a place.

*Elbing*, a town built upon an arm of the *Weissel*, hesitated too long about giving passage to the *Swedish* troops; and was more severely punished than *Danzick*. *Charles* entered there in person on the 13th of *December* at the head of 4000 men armed with bayonets at the end of their muskets. The inhabitants in a consternation fell upon their knees in the streets, and begged for mercy. He took from them all their arms, lodged his soldiers in their houses, and then obliged the magistrates to raise that very day a contribution of 260,000 crowns. There were in the town 200 pieces of cannon, and 400,000 weight of gun-powder, which he seized.

The Cardinal had scarce taken an oath to his King, that he would attempt nothing against him, before he went to the assembly at *Warsaw*, but still under the pretence of peace. He was attended by 3000 soldiers raised upon his own estate; but upon coming thither talked of nothing but concord and obedience. At last he threw off the mask, and on the 14th of *February*, 1704, declared in the name of the assembly, *Augustus* Elector of *Saxony* incapable of wearing the crown of *Poland*. They then pronounced with a common voice, that the throne was vacant. The session of that day was not yet ended, when a courier from the King of *Sweden* brought

brought a letter from his Majesty to the assembly. The Cardinal opened the letter, which contained an order in form of a request to elect Prince *James Sobieski* for their King. They were disposed to obey with joy, and even fixed the day of the election. The Prince was then at *Breslau* in *Silesia*, waiting with impatience for the crown, which his father had wore. As he was one day hunting at some leagues from *Breslau* with Prince *Constantine* one of his brothers, thirty *Saxon* horsemen, sent privately by King *Augustus*, broke out of a sudden upon them from a neighbouring wood, surrounded the two Princes, and carried them off without resistance to *Leipsic*. This step at once broke all the measures of *Charles*, the Cardinal, and the assembly at *Warsaw*.

Fortune threw King *Augustus* almost at the same time upon the point of being taken himself. He was at dinner within three leagues of *Cracow*, relying upon an advanced guard posted at some distance, when General *Renschild* came suddenly upon him, after having carried off the guard. The King had but just time to get on horseback with ten others. General *Renschild* pursued him four days, ready to seize upon him every moment. The King fled into *Sandomir*, and the *Swedish* General followed him thither; and it was a singular piece of good fortune, that he made his escape.

Count *Piper* laid hold of this opportunity to advise *Charles* XII. to take upon himself the crown of *Poland*. The King answered, that he chose rather to give away Kingdoms than gain them, and added, smiling, " You were made for the Minister of " an *Italian* Prince."

*Charles* lay still near *Thorn*; he thence observed all that was transacted at *Warsaw*, and kept the neighbouring powers in awe. Prince *Alexander*, brother of the two *Sobieski's* who were carried off in *Silesia*,

of *Poland* to the father. The Cardinal had given such impressions of *Lubomirsky*, as he could never efface. He used his utmost address to draw the King insensibly into the new interest he embraced, and to divert him from the choice of *Stanislaus*. But what have you, says the King, to object against him? Sir, says the Prelate, he is too young. The King answered, "He is much about my age," turned his back upon the Prelate, and immediately dispatched Count *Hoorn* to signify to the assembly at *Warsaw*, that they must elect a King in five days, and that they must chuse *Stanislaus Lecfinsky*. Count *Hoorn* arrived upon the 7th of *July*, and fixed the day of the election to the 12th. The Cardinal Primate returned to the assembly, where he left no stone unturned to make the election prove abortive. But the King of *Sweden* coming himself *incognito* to *Warsaw*, he was obliged to be silent. All that the Primate could do was to absent himself from the election.

On the day appointed for the election, the assembly met at *Colo*, the place designed for the ceremony, and the Bishop of *Poznania* presided instead of the *Primate*. The King of *Sweden* mixed with them that he might in secret enjoy the fruits of his power. Count *Hoorn* and two other general officers assisted publickly at the solemnity, as ambassadors extraordinary from *Charles* to the Republic. The session lasted till nine in the evening; and the Bishop of *Poznania* put an end to it by declaring in the name of the Diete *Stanislaus* elected King of *Poland*.

The Cardinal Primate, and those who had a mind to continue neutrals, were all of them forced the next day to come and pay homage to the new King. The greatest mortification they had was, that they were obliged to wait upon him to the  
King

King of Sweden's quarter. His Majesty gave all the honours to the King he had made, which were due to a King of Poland; and to add a greater weight to his new dignity, assigned him money and troops.

Charles XII. immediately departed from *Warsaw* to finish the conquest of *Poland*. He had fixed the general rendezvous of his army before *Leopold*, the capital of the great Palatinate of *Russia*. He sat down before it on September 5, and the next day carried it by assault; and all who resisted were put to the sword. The King then proclaimed his orders by sound of trumpet, that all the inhabitants, who had any effects belonging to King *Augustus*, or his adherents, should bring them in person before night came on, under pain of death, and they brought his Majesty 400 chests filled with gold and silver coin, plate and other valuable effects.

*Stanislaus* immediately after his Election, received information that a numerous army was drawing near to *Warsaw*. This was King *Augustus*, who having eluded the King of Sweden, was coming up with 20,000 men to fall upon *Warsaw*, and carry off his rival.

If *Stanislaus* tarried, he was sure to be undone. He sent his family therefore into *Poznan* under the guard of those *Polish* troops, in whom he could put most confidence. The Cardinal Primate fled one of the first to the frontiers of *Prussia*. Several gentlemen took different roads. The new King went directly to *Charles XII*. The Bishop of *Poznan* alone could not escape, being confined to *Warsaw* by a dangerous illness. As to General *Hoern*, who was governor of *Warsaw* in the name of the King of Sweden, he took up his residence in the castle with his 1500 Swedes.

*Augustus* entered the capital as a Sovereign incensed and victorious. Count *Hoorn* stood the constant fire of the enemy in the castle, wherein he was inclosed; but the place at last being no longer able to hold out, he was forced to beat a parley, and remained prisoner of war, with his 1500 *Swedes*.

Count *Hoorn*, released upon his parole, came to *Leopold*, within a small time after *Stanislaus*. He took the liberty of complaining a little to the King of *Sweden*, that his Majesty had not relieved *Warsaw*. "Be not under much concern about it, my poor Count," (says the King) "we must let King *Augustus* do something by way of amusement, or otherwise he would grow tired of having us so long in his neighbourhood; but take my word for it, he shall not be the better for this advantage."

The conqueror, accompanied by King *Stanislaus*, went in quest of his enemy at the head of the best part of his troops. The *Saxon* army fled constantly before him, and the towns for thirty miles round sent him their keys.

*Augustus* committed the care of his army for some time to Count *Sbullembourg*, a very able General, who after several artifices and counter-marches found himself near *Punitz*, in the Palatinate of *Pofmania*, imagining that the King of *Sweden* and King *Stanislaus* were above fifty leagues off from him. But coming thither, he learnt that the two Kings were ready to fall upon him with 10 or 12,000 horse, *Sbullembourg* had not 1000 horse, nor above 8000 foot. He was ever of opinion, that the foot might stand against the horse in an open campaign, even without the benefit of *Chevau-x de Frize*; and he ventured to make trial of it that day against the victorious horse commanded by

by the two Kings, and the most experienced of the *Swedish* Generals. He posted himself so advantageously, that he could not be surrounded; his first rank bent one knee upon the ground, and was armed with pikes and fuses; the soldiers stood extremely close, and presented to the enemies horse a kind of rampart pointed with pikes and bayonets; the second rank, bending a little upon the shoulders of the first, fired over their heads, and the third standing upright, fired at the same time behind the other two. The *Swedes* fell upon the *Saxons* with their usual impetuosity, who waited for them unshaken; the discharge of the muskets, the pikes and bayonets startled the horses, and set them a capering instead of advancing. By this means the *Swedes* made their attack in disorder, and the *Saxons* defended themselves by keeping their ranks.

This unequal fight of a body of horse against the foot, though often interrupted and renewed, lasted three hours. The *Swedes* lost more horses than men. *Shullembourg* at last gave way, but his troops were not broken. He drew them up into an oblong battalion, and though he had received five wounds in the engagement, he retired in good order in this form about midnight to the small town of *Guran*, within three leagues of the field of battle. And he scarce began to breathe in that place, before the two Kings appeared suddenly at his heels.

Beyond *Guran*, towards the river *Oder*, lay a thick wood, through which the *Saxon* General saved his fatigued army. The *Swedes* without pausing pursued him through the thickets. On the other side the wood runs the river *Parts* at the foot of a village named *Rutsen*. *Shullembourg* had sent before in all haste to get the boats together, and carried his troops across the river,

which were already half lost. *Charles* was come to one side of the river by that time *Skullembourg* had got to the other. He lost no time, but swam his horse cross the river. And thus the *Saxons* were enclosed between the river *Parts*, and the great river of *Oder*, which has its source in *Silesia*, and is in this place very deep and rapid.

*Skullembourg* strove all he could to extricate himself from this extremity. He had not above 4000 men left; he had a *Fesse* before him, and his rear-guard was upon the banks of the *Oder*. He had no bridges or boats to throw over the river, but in the evening gave orders for planks. *Charles* upon his arrival immediately attacks the mill, in full persuasion that, after he had taken it, the *Saxons* must either perish in the river, or die sword in hand; or at least surrender themselves prisoners. In the mean while the planks were got ready; and the *Saxons* passed the *Oder* over them in the night; and when *Charles* had forced the mill, he found no more of the enemies army, upon which he could not help saying, "*Skullembourg* has conquered us to day."

Under these happy conjunctures *Stanislaus* prepared for his coronation. A *Diète* was appointed to meet at *Warsaw*, and all other obstacles were removed; only the court of *Rome* were disposed to cross it.

*Clement XI.* the then Pope, sent briefs to all the Prelates of *Poland*, and in particular to the Cardinal Primate; by which he threatened them with excommunication, if they presumed to assist at the consecration of *Stanislaus*, or form any attempt against the Prerogatives of King *Augustus*, but the Cardinal Primate dying soon after, the coronation was solemnized quietly and magnificently on *October 4*, 1705 in the town of *Warsaw*, notwithstanding the usual custom in *Poland* of crown-

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## C H A R L E S XII.

ing their Kings at *Gracow*. *Stanislaus Lec* and his wife *Charlotte Opalinska* were cro King and Queen of *Poland* by the hands o Archbishop of *Leopold*, assisted by several Prelates. *Charles XII* was present at the money *incognito*, as he had been at the electio

Meanwhile the Czar took *Narva* by al on *August 21, 1704*, after a regular siege, ha prevented its being relieved either by sea or As soon as the soldiers were masters of the they fell to plunder, and gave themselves t the most enormous barbarities. The Czar from place to place to put a stop to the c der and massacre. He was even obliged to several *Moscovites*, who did not hearken t orders. They yet shew the table in the t house at *Narva*, upon which he laid his sv as he entered, and tell the words which he t to the Citizens, who flocked thither after " It is not, says he, with the blood of the inl " tants, that my sword is stained, but with th " the *Moscovites*, which I have shed to save " lives "

The Czar held out still an helping ha King *Augustus* ; he persuaded him by *Ge Patkul*, who had lately passed into the servie *Moscovy*, and was then the Czar's Ambassade *Saxony*, to come to *Grodno* to confer with once more upon the unhappy state of his at King *Augustus* came thither with some troop tended by General *Shullembourg*. The Czar rived, with 100,000 men marching after The two Monarchs formed new schemes of It was resolved that the Czar's army shoul divided into several bodies to oppose every tion of the King of *Sweden*. The conferen the two Kings ended in an extraordinary : ner. The Czar departed suddenly, and lef



troops to his aid, to go and extinguish a rebellion in person, which threatened him in *Astracan*. He was scarce gone from him, before King *Augustus* ordered *Patkul* to be taken up at *Dresden*. All *Europe* were in amaze, that, contrary to the law of nations, and in appearance to his own interest, he should venture to imprison the Ambassador of the only Prince who protected him. His Excuse to the Czar was, that *Patkul* was a perfidious wretch, and would betray them both. However he had no other fault, but that of having served his new master too well.

In the mean while the 100,000 *Moscovites* on one side, divided into several small bodies, burnt and ravaged the estates of the adherents to *Stanislaus*; and *Skullembourg* on the other was advancing with his fresh troops. But the fortune of the *Sweedes* dispersed these two armies in less than two months. *Charles XII.* and *Stanislaus* fell upon the separate bodies of the *Moscovites* one after another; but so briskly, that one *Moscovite* General was beaten before he knew of the defeat of his companion.

One party of *Sweedes* took the baggage of *Augustus*, in which were 200,000 crowns of silver coin; *Stanislaus* made a seizure of 800,000 ducats belonging to prince *Menzikof* the General of the *Moscovites*. *Charles* at the head of his horse would often march thirty leagues in four and twenty hours, every soldier leading another horse in his hand to mount, when his own was weary. The *Moscovites*, terrified and reduced to a small number, and in disorder beyond the *Boristhenes*.

Whilst *Charles* was thus driving the *Moscovites* before him into the heart of *Lithuania*, *Skullembourg* at last repassed the *Oder*, and came at the head of twenty thousand men to give battle to the grand Marechal *Renchild*, who was  
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look'd upon as the best General Charles XII. had. These two famous Generals met near *Punitz* in a place called *Fravenstad*. *Reinhold* had no more than thirteen battalions and two and twenty squadrons, which all together made about 10,000 men; and *Shullenbourg* had twice as many. It is to be observed, that he had in his army between six and seven thousand *Moscovites*. The battle of *Fravenstad* was fought on *February* 12, 1706. The engagement lasted not a quarter of an hour, the *Saxons* did not resist a moment, and the *Moscovites* threw down their arms upon the first appearance of the *Swedes*; the terror was so sudden, and the disorder so great, that the conquerors found upon the field of battle 7000 fuses all charged, which they had thrown away without firing.

The Diete of *Ratisbone*, declared the King of *Sweden* an enemy to the Empire, in case he passed beyond the *Oder* with his army; which very determination confirmed him in his resolution of marching into *Germany*.

Upon his approach the villages were deserted, and the inhabitants fled on all sides, *Charles* caused his proclamation to be fixed up in all places, that he had no other design but to procure peace; that all those who returned to their houses, and paid the contributions he should require, should be treated as his own subjects, and the rest pursued without quarter. This declaration from a Prince, who was never known to have broken his word, brought back the inhabitants in numbers, whom fear had driven away. He encamped at *Altranstad*, near the plain of *Lutzen*, the field of battle famous for the victory and death of *Gustavus Adolphus*.

From this camp, he gave orders to the estates of *Saxony* to meet, and send him without delay the registers of the finances of the Electorate. As soon

soon as he had them, and was informed exactly of what *Saxony* could supply, he imposed a tax upon it of 625,000 rixdollars a month. Besides which, the *Saxons* were obliged to furnish every *Swedish* soldier with two pound of meat, two pound of bread, two pots of beer, and four pence a day, and with forage for the horse. The contributions being thus regulated, the King ordered in all the towns where he put garrisons, that every inn-keeper, in whose house the soldiers were quartered, should give certificates of their behaviour every month, without which the soldier was not to have his pay. Inspectors besides went every fifteen days from house to house, to make enquiry whether the *Swedes* had occasioned any disturbance; and care was taken to make the inn-keepers amends, and punish the persons in fault.

One day, as the King was riding out near *Lipsick*, a *Saxon* peasant threw himself at his feet to ask justice of him against a grenadier, who had just taken from him what he had designed for his family's dinner. The King ordered the soldier to be brought before him, "And is it true," says he, with a stern countenance, "that you have robbed this man?" "Sir, says the soldier, "I have not done him so much mischief, as your Majesty has done his master; you have taken a Kingdom from him, and I have only taken a turkey from this fellow." The King gave the poor man ten ducats with his own hand, and pardoned the soldier for the boldness of his reply, saying, "Remember, friend, if I have taken a Kingdom from King *Augustus*, I have taken nothing for myself."

King *Augustus* wandering in *Poland*, and deprived at once both of his Kingdom and Electorate, at last wrote a letter with his own hand to *Charles XII.* to ask a peace. His two plenipoten-  
tiaries

tiaries came by night to Charles XIIth's camp, and had a private audience. The King read the letter, and, "Gentlemen," says he, "I will give you my answer in a moment." He immediately retired into his cabinet and wrote as follows:

*I Consent to give peace upon the following conditions, in which it must not be expected that I shall make the least alteration:*

*I. That King Augustus renounce for ever the crown of Poland; that he acknowledge Stanislaus as lawful King, and that he promise never to remount the throne, not even after the death of Stanislaus.*

*II. That he renounce all other treaties, and particularly those he has made with Moscow.*

*III. That he send back with honour into my camp the Prince Sobieski, and all the Prisoners he has been able to take.*

*IV. That he deliver into my hands all the deserters, who have entered into his service, and particularly John Patkul; and that all proceedings be stopped against such as have passed from his service into mine.*

He gave this Paper to Count Piper, charging him to negotiate the rest with the Plenipotentiaries. They had several conferences with Count Piper, but could gain no other answer from him to all their persuasions, than "Such is the will of the King my master, and he never changes his resolutions."

Whilst this peace was silently negotiating in Saxony, Prince Menzicoff, Generalissimo of the Moscowite army, brought him into Poland a body of 30,000 men, at a time when he not only did not desire their assistance any longer, but even feared it. He had with him some Polish and Saxon troops,

which in all made up about 6000 men; surrounded with this small body by Prince *Menzicof*'s army, he was under the most terrible apprehensions, in case they should discover his negotiation. In this nice circumstance there appeared in view of the army the *Swedish* General *Maderfield*, at the head of 10,000 men, at *Calish*, near the Palatine of *Pofnania*. Prince *Menzicof* pressed King *Augustus* to give them battle. The King being in the utmost perplexities delayed it under several pretexts, but at last determined to send a Person, upon whom he could rely, to the General of the enemy, to let him into part of the secret of the peace, and advise him to retreat; but General *Maderfield* imagined that a snare was laid to intimidate him, and resolved to risk the battle.

The *Moscovites* that day conquered the *Swedes* in a pitched battle for the first time. This victory, which King *Augustus* gained almost against his own inclination, was complete, and he entered triumphant in the midst of his bad fortune into *Warsaw*. He was tempted to seize upon this moment for prosperity, and to fall upon the King of *Sweden* in *Saxony* with the *Moscovite* army. But upon recollection, judged it better to comply with the terms the King of *Sweden* should impose upon him. These terms were made more severe, when *Charles* had information, that King *Augustus* had fallen upon his troops during the negotiation.

He had just sung *Te Deum* at *Warsaw*, when *Finsten*, one of his Plenipotentiaries, arrived from *Saxony*, with the treaty of peace, which deprived him of his crown. *Augustus* paused a while; but signed it, and then set out for *Saxony*, in vain hopes, that his presence might soften the King of *Sweden*.

The

The two Princes had their first interview at *Guntersdorf* in Count *Piper's* quarters, without any ceremony. *Charles XII.* was in jack-boots, and usual Dress. The conversation turned wholly upon those great boots. *Charles* told King *Augustus*, that he had not laid them aside for six years, except when he went to sleep. The two Kings dined together several times afterwards. *Charles* always affected to give the right hand to King *Augustus*; but was so far from softening the rigour of his demands, that he made them still harder. He obliged the King Elector, not only to send *Stanislaus* the jewels and records of the crown, but likewise to write him a letter of congratulation upon his accession. And he absolutely insisted upon the giving up of General *Patkul* without delay; with all which *Augustus* was obliged to comply.

As to *Patkul*, King *Augustus* thought he might find an expedient to satisfy *Charles* and his own honour at the same time. He sent his guards to deliver up the unhappy prisoner to the *Swedish* troops; but sent before a secret order to the Governor of *Konigsberg* to let him escape. The Governor knowing *Patkul* to be very rich, would have had him bought his liberty. But the prisoner refused to pay for what he thought he should obtain for nothing. During this interval, the guards appointed to seize upon him arrived, and immediately gave him up to four *Swedish* officers, who carried him strait to the general quarters at *Alrakstad*, where he continued three months tied to a stake with a heavy chain of iron; and thence he was carried to *Casimir*.

*Charles* forgetting that *Patkul* was the Czar's Ambassador; and considering only that he was born his subject, ordered a council of war to pass sentence upon him with the utmost rigour.

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He was condemned to be broke alive and quartered. A Chaplain came to let him know, that he was to die, without informing him in what manner. At the same instant this man, who had braved death in so many battles, poured out a flood of tears. When he was led to the place of punishment, and saw the wheels and stakes prepared for his execution, he fell into convulsions of terror, and threw himself into the arms of the minister, who embraced him, and covered him with his cloak, and wept over him. He received sixteen blows, and endured the longest and most dreadful tortures, that can be imagined. Thus died the unfortunate *John Renold Patkul*, Ambassador and General to the Emperor of *Moscovy*.

It was proposed in the Czar's council to make retaliation by treating the *Swedish* officers, who were prisoners at *Moscow*, in the same manner. But the Czar would not consent to a barbarity, which would have been attended with such fatal consequence; since there were more *Moscovites* prisoners in *Sweden*, than *Swedes* in *Moscovy*.

He sought for a more advantageous revenge. The main body of his enemies army lay idle in *Saxony*. *Levenhaup*, the King of *Sweden's* General, who was left in *Poland* with about 20,000 men, was not able to guard the passes in a country without forts and full of factions. *Stanislaus* was in the camp of *Charles XII*. The Emperor of *Moscovy* seizes upon this conjuncture, and re-enters *Poland* with above 60,000 men. He caused an assembly to be called together at *Leopold*, not much unlike that, which had dethroned *Augustus* at *Warsaw*.

King *Stanislaus* set out from *Abransbad* on the 15th of *July*, 1707, with General *Renebild*, sixteen *Swedish* regiments, and great sums of mo-

ney, to make himself peaceably owned. He was acknowledged wherever he passed; the discipline of his troops gained him the people's inclinations; his extreme affability re-united to him almost all the factions, in proportion as it was known; and his money procured him the greatest part of the army of the crown. The Czar retired into *Lithuania*, where he had appointed the rendezvous of the several branches of his army, and established magazines. This retreat left King *Stanislaus* in the peaceable possession of almost all *Poland*.

The King of *Sweden* was then receiving Ambassadors in his camp at *Altranstad*, from almost all the Princes in *Christendom*. Amongst these Ambassadors was the famous Duke of *Marlborough*, sent by *Anne*, Queen of *Great-Britain*. He knew that *Charles* was exasperated against the Empire and the Emperor; that he was secretly solicited by the *French*; and that if this conqueror should join himself to *Lewis XIV.* the allies would be undone.

As soon as he was arrived at *Leipsick*, where *Charles* then was, he applied himself secretly to Baron *Goerts*, who began to share the King's confidence with *Piper*. He told *Goerts*, that the design of the allies was very shortly to propose to the King of *Sweden* to be a second time mediator between them and *France*. He said this in hopes of discovering by *Goerts*'s answer the King's intentions, and because he chose much rather to have *Charles* for an arbitrator than an enemy. At last he had his public audience at *Leipsick*.

Upon his first address to the King, he told him in *French* that he should think himself happy, if he could be taught under his command, what he yet wanted to know in the art of war. He then had a private audience of an hour long, in which



the King spoke in *German*; and the Duke in *French*; the Duke who was never in haste to make propositions, and had learnt by a long course of experience the art of penetrating into the sentiments of mankind, and finding out the secret connexion between their inmost thoughts and their actions, gestures, and discourse, fixed his eyes attentively upon the King. When he spoke to him of war in general, he thought he perceived in his Majesty a natural aversion towards *France*, and observed that he was pleased when he talked of the conquests of the allies. He mentioned the Czar to him, and took notice that his eyes always kindled at his name; and he farther remarked, that a map of *Moscow* lay before him upon the table. He wanted no more to determine him in his judgment, that the real design of the King of *Sweden* and his sole ambition were to dethrone the Czar, as he had already done the King of *Poland*. He left *Charles XII.* to his natural inclination; and being satisfied with having discovered his intentions, he made him no kind of proposal.

The King thought that one year would be sufficient for dethroning the Czar, and that then he might return and raise himself by his own power to the dignity of arbiter of *Europe*; but he had a mind first to bring down the spirit of the Emperor of *Germany*.

He demanded that Count *Zabor*, the Emperor's Chamberlain, who had spoken disrespectfully of the King, should be delivered into his hands; which the Emperor was forced to submit to. He demanded that 1500 *Moscovites*, who had fled for refuge into the Emperor's Dominions, should be delivered up, which must have been done, had they not been permitted to escape. He likewise demanded that the Emperor should grant his protestant

reſtant ſubjects in *Sileſia* the liberties and privileges which had been eſtabliſhed by the treaty of *Weſtphalia*; which was likewise complied with.

The Pope's Nuncio, who then reſided in the Emperor's court, reproached him very ſeverely, that he, who was a *Roman Catholick*, ſhould thus give up the intereſt of his own religion, in favour of hereticks. "Tis well for you," answered the Emperor, ſmiling, "that the King of *Sweden* did not propoſe to make me a *Lutheran*; for, if he had, I don't know what I ſhould have done."

Count *Wratiſlau*, his Ambaſſador with *Charles XII.*, brought the treaty to *Leipſick* in favour of the *Sileſians*, ſigned by his maſter's own hand. *Charles* then ſaid, he was ſatisfied, and was the Emperor's very good friend. However, he was much diſgusted at the oppoſition he had found from *Rome* upon every occaſion. He told Count *Wratiſlau*, that the *Swedes* had formerly conquered *Rome*, and had not degenerated like that City. And he let the Pope know, that he would one day demand back the effects which Queen *Chriſtina* had left at *Rome*. At laſt, all difficulties being removed, he prepared for his departure.

The *Swedes* did not yet know, whither their King would lead them; only it was ſuſpected in the army, that he might go to *Moscow*. Some days before his departure, he ordered the Grand Mareſchal of his houſhold to give him in writing the rout from *Leipſick*. . . . He paused a while at that word, and that the Mareſchal might have no ſuſpicion of his projects, he added ſmiling, . . . to all the capital cities of *Europe*. The Mareſchal brought him a liſt of them all, and at the head of them had affected to put in great letters, *The road from Leipſick to Stockholm*. "I ſee, Sir,"

says the King, "whither you would lead me, but  
"we shall not return to *Stockholm* so soon."

The Army was already upon their march, and passed near *Dresden*, *Charles* was at their head, and riding according to his custom about a quarter or half a mile before his guards. They lost sight of him all at once, and some of the officers spurred on their horses to see where he was; but with all their enquiry they could not find him. The whole army took the alarm in a moment. And whilst they were in great consternation, they learnt from a *Saxon*, who was passing by, what was become of him.

He had a mind, as he passed so near *Dresden*, to make a visit to King *Augustus*. He entered the town on horseback, attended by three or four general officers, and went directly to alight at the palace. He was got as far as the Elector's apartment, before it was known that he was in the town. General *Fleming* having seen the King of *Sweden* at a distance, had only time to run and inform his master. *Charles* entered the chamber in his boots, before *Augustus* had time to recover from his surprize. He was then sick and in a night-gown, but dressed himself presently. *Charles* breakfasted with him as a traveller, who came to take leave of his friend, and then he expressed his desire of viewing the fortifications. After having passed some hours in this odd kind of visit, he embraced King *Augustus*, and took his leave. Upon returning to his army he found all his Generals assembled in a council of war, and asked the reason. General *Renschild* told him, they had determined to besiege *Dresden*, in case his Majesty had been detained a prisoner. "Right," says the King, "they durst not, they durst not." The next morning, upon the news that King *Augustus* held an extraordinary council at *Dresden*:

*den*: "You see," says *Renchild*, "they are deliberating upon what they should have done yesterday." A few days after this event *Renchild* coming to wait upon the King spoke to him with astonishment of his adventure at *Dresden*. "I confided in my good fortune," said *Charles*, "but I have once seen the moment that might have been a little unfavourable to me. *Fleming* had no great inclination that I should leave *Dresden* so soon."

C H A P. IV.

*Charles leaves Saxony; the battle of Pultowa; reduced to a necessity of flying into Turkey.*

**C**HARLES at last took leave of *Saxony* in September, 1707, followed by an army of 43,000 men, formerly covered with steel, but then shining with gold and silver, and enriched with the spoils of *Poland* and *Saxony*. Besides this army, Count *Levenhaup*, one of his best Generals, waited for him in *Poland* with 20,000 men; and he had besides another army of 15,000 in *Finland*; and fresh recruits were coming to him from *Sweden*. With all these forces it was not doubted but he must dethrone the Czar.

The King of *Sweden* in the midst of his victorious march received a solemn embassy from the *Turks*. The Ambassador had his audience in Count *Piper's* quarters; he presented *Charles* with an hundred *Swedish* soldiers; who having been taken by the *Calmonks*, sold in *Turkey*, and redeemed by the Grand Signior; were sent by him to the King as the most agreeable present he could make him.

*Charles* left *Stanislaus* in *Poland* with 10,000 *Sweedes*; as for his own part, he marched at the

head of his horse amidst ice and snow towards *Grodno* in the month of *January*, 1708.

He had already passed the *Niemen* within two leagues of the town, before the Czar knew any thing of his march. Upon the first news that the *Swedes* were coming, the Czar leaves the town by the north-gate, and *Charles* enters by the south. The King had with him but 600 of his guards, the rest not being able to follow him; and the Czar fled with above 2000 men; but he learnt that very day from a *Polish* deserter, that he had quitted the place to no more than 600 men, and that the body of the enemy's army was still above five leagues distant. He lost no time, but sent a detachment of 1500 horse in the evening to surprize the King of *Sweden* in the town. The 1500 *Moscovites*, assisted by the darkness of the night, advanced as far as the first *Swedish* guard without being known. This guard consisted of thirty men, and they alone sustained the attack of 1500 for half a quarter of an hour. The King, who lay at the other end of the town, came up presently with his 600 guards; and the *Moscovites* fled with precipitation. His army was not long without joining him, nor he without pursuing the enemy.

From *Grodno* to the *Borisphenes* eastward lye nothing but morasses, deserts, mountains, and immense forests; in such places as are cultivated there was no provision to be found; the country people buried all their grain under ground. In order to discover these subterraneous magazines, they were obliged to sound the earth with long poles pointed with iron. The *Moscovites* and *Swedes* served themselves with these provisions by turns.

The King of *Sweden*, who had foreseen these difficulties, had provided biscuit for the subsistence of

of his army, so that nothing stop'd him in his march. After he had crossed the forest of *Minsky*, where his men were obliged every moment to cut down trees to make way for his troops and baggage, he found himself on the 25th of *June*, 1708, before the river *Berezine*, over against *Borislow*.

The Czar had got together the best part of his troops in that place, and intrenched himself to advantage, with design to hinder the *Swedes* from passing the river. *Charles* posted some of his regiments on the banks of the *Berezine*, directly against *Borislow*, as though he meant to attempt the passage in sight of the enemy. At the same time he leads his army about three leagues up the river, throws a bridge over it, cuts his way through a body of 3000 men, who defended that post, and marches to the enemy without stopping. The *Moscovites* immediately decamped, and retreated towards the *Boristhenes*, spoiling all the roads, and spreading destruction wherever they passed, to retard the progress of the *Swedes*.

*Charles* surmounted all difficulties, advancing still towards the *Boristhenes*. He met with 20,000 *Moscovites* in his way intrenched in a place named *Hollofin*, behind a morass, which could not be come at without passing a river. *Charles* did not wait for the assault till the rest of his infantry came up, but threw himself into the water at the head of his foot-guards, and crossed the river and the morass, with the water sometimes above his shoulders. Whilst he thus marched against the enemy, he ordered his horse to pass round the morass, and fall upon them in flank. The *Moscovites* in amazè, that no barrier could defend them, were at the same time routed by the King on foot, and by the *Swedish* horse.

He then mounted on horseback, but soon after

ter finding a young *Swedish* Gentleman, named *Gullenstiern*, whom he very much esteemed, wounded in the field, and unable to march, he obliged him to take his horse, and continued to command on foot at the head of his infantry.

The *Moscovites*, thus obliged to fly, repassed the *Boristhenes*, which separates the dominions of *Poland* from their own country. *Charles* immediately crossed that great river after them at *Mobilou*, the last town in *Poland*.

The Czar, thus seeing his Empire become a prey to a war, was inclined to a peace, and even ventured some proposals by a *Polish* Gentleman, whom he sent to the *Swedish* army. *Charles* only answered, *I will treat with the Czar at Moscow*. When this haughty answer was reported to the Czar, " My brother *Charles*, says he, still affects " to act the *Alexander*, but I flatter myself he will " not find a *Darius* in me."

About thirty leagues northward from *Mobilou*, upon the frontiers of *Poland* and *Moscow*, is situate the country of *Smolensko*, in which lies the great road from *Poland* to *Moscow*. This way the Czar retreated, and the King followed by long marches; and so close, that part of the rear-guard of the *Moscovites* was frequently engaged with the dragoons of the *Swedish* van-guard.

On the 22d of *September*, in this year 1708, the King attacked a body of 10,000 horse and 6000 *Calmouks* near *Smolensko*, with only six regiments of horse, and 4000 foot; broke their ranks upon the first onset, and forced the enemy to retreat. He advanced upon them through rough and hollow ways, where the *Calmouks* lay hid; they then appeared again, and threw themselves between the regiment where the King was fighting and the rest of the *Swedish* army. The *Moscovites* and *Calmouks* in an instant surrounded this  
regiment,

regiment, and made their way quite up to his Majesty. They killed two *Aides de Camp*, who fought near his person. The King's horse was slain under him; and as one of his equerries was presenting him another, both the equerry and horse were struck dead upon the spot. Charles fought on foot, encircled by some of his officers, who immediately flew to relieve him by surrounding him.

Several of them were taken, wounded or slain, so that only five men were left about him. He was quite spent with fatigue, having killed above a dozen of the enemy with his own hand, without receiving so much as one wound. At last Colonel *Dardoff* forced his way through the *Calmonks* with a single company of his regiment, and disengaged the King. The rest of the *Swedes* put the *Tartars* to the sword. The army recovered its ranks, Charles mounted his horse, and, fatigued as he was, pursued the *Moscovites* two leagues.

Charles having made a review of his whole army, and taken an account of their provisions, found that he had not a sufficient quantity to subsist them for fifteen days. General *Levenbaup*, who was appointed to bring him a supply with a reinforcement of 15000 men, was not yet come up; he therefore resolved to quit the road to *Moscow*, and turn to the south towards *Ukrania*, into the country of the *Cosaques*, situate between the lesser *Tartary*; *Poland*, and *Moscow*.

The General of the *Ukraniens* was named *Mazeppa*, born in the Palatinate of *Podolia*; the superiority of whose understanding made him very considerable among the *Cosaques*, and his reputation daily encreasing, had obliged the Czar to make him Prince of *Ukrania*.



One day as he sat at table with the Czar at *Moscow*, the Emperor proposed to him to discipline the *Cosques*, and render those people more dependent. *Mazeppa* answered, that the situation of *Ukrania*, and the genius of the nation, were obstacles not to be surmounted. The Czar, who was somewhat over-heated with wine, called him traitor, and threatened to have him empaled.

*Mazeppa*, upon his return into *Ukrania*, laid the scheme of a revolt. The *Swedish* army, appearing soon after upon the frontiers, opened him an easy way to it; and he entered into a secret league with the King of *Sweden* to hasten the downfall of the Czar, and make his own advantage of it.

The King appointed the rendezvous near the river *Desna*. *Mazeppa* promised to meet him there with 30,000 men, proper ammunitions and provisions, and all his treasures. The *Swedish* army therefore was ordered to march towards that side of the country. *Charles* sent orders to *Levenhaup* to bring up his troops and provisions with all speed into *Ukrania*, where he designed to pass the winter, that having secured that country to himself, he might conquer *Moscow* the next spring; and in the mean time he advanced towards the river *Desna*, which falls into the *Boristhenes* at *Kiou*.

They were obliged to cross a forest full fifty leagues broad, and full of marshes. General *Lagercron*, who marched before with 5000 men and pioneers, led the army thirty leagues eastward out of the right way. And they had marched four days before the King discovered the mistake. With difficulty they struck into the right road again, but left almost all their artillery and waggons behind, which were either stuck fast, or quite sunk in the mud.

They

They marched for twelve days in this painful and laborious manner, till they had eaten up the little biscuit that was left, and then they arrived quite spent with hunger and fatigue upon the banks of the *Desna*, in the place where *Mazeppa* had appointed to meet them; but instead of the Prince, they found a body of *Moscovites* advancing towards the other side of the river. The King was very much astonished, but resolved immediately to pass the *Desna*, and attack the enemy. The banks of the river were so steep, that they were obliged to let the soldiers down with cords; and they crossed it according to their usual manner, some by swimming, and others on floats hastily made. The body of *Moscovites*, which arrived at the same time, were not above 8000 men; so that they made but small resistance, and this obstacle was also surmounted.

*Charles* advanced farther into this wretched country, uncertain of his road and *Mazeppa's* fidelity. *Mazeppa* appeared at last, but rather as a fugitive than a powerful ally. The *Moscovites* had discovered and prevented his designs. They had fallen upon the *Cosaques* and cut them in pieces; his principal friends were taken sword in hand, and thirty of them had been broke upon the wheel. His towns were laid in ashes, his treasures plundered, the provisions he was preparing for the King of *Sweden* seized; and he was scarce able to escape himself with 6000 men, and some few horses laden with gold and silver. However, the *Cosaques*, enraged against the *Moscovites*, came in troops to the camp, and brought them provisions.

*Charles* hoped at least that General *Levenhaup* would come and repair this ill fortune. He was to bring with him about 15000 *Swedes*, with provisions of ammunition and victual. He arrived  
at

at last, but almost in the same condition as *Mitzeppa*.

He had already passed the *Boristhenes* above *Mobilou*, and advanced about twenty leagues farther, on the road to *Ukrania*. He brought the King a convoy of 8000 waggons, with the money he had raised in *Lithuania*. Upon coming toward *Lesno*, the Czar appeared at the head of 50,000 men.

The Swedish General, who had not quite 16,000, resolved not to intrench, but marched against them, without hesitation on the 7th of October 1708, in the afternoon. Upon the first assault they killed 1500 *Moscovites*. The Czar's army fell into confusion, and fled on all sides; and the Emperor of *Russia* was upon the point of seeing himself entirely defeated.

As soon as he saw his troops begin to fall back he ran to the rear-guard, where the *Cosagues* and *Calmourks* were posted: "I charge you," says he, "to fire upon every man that runs away, and even to kill me, if I should be so cowardly, as to turn my back." From thence he turned to the van-guard, rallied his troops in person, assisted by Prince *Menzicof*, and Prince *Gallitsin*. *Levenhaupt*, who had pressing orders to join his master, chose rather to continue on his march than renew the fight.

At eleven the next morning the Czar attacked him near a morass, and drew out his army at length, that he might surround him. The *Swedes* faced about, and the fight lasted two hours with equal resolution. The *Moscovites* lost three times as many men, but still kept their ground, and the victory was undecided.

At four in the afternoon General *Bauer* brought the Czar a reinforcement of troops. The battle was then renewed for the third time, with more fury

Fury and eagerness than ever, and lasted till night came on. At last numbers carried it. The *Swedes* were broken, routed, and driven as far as to their baggage. *Levenhaup* rallied his troops behind his waggons, and though the *Swedes* were conquered, they did not fly. They were about 9000, and not a single man of them ran away.

The next morning at day-break, the Czar ordered a fresh assault. *Levenhaup* had retired to an advantageous ground at some miles distance, after having nailed down part of his cannon, and set fire to his waggons.

The *Moscovites* came time enough, to hinder the whole convoy from being consumed; they seized upon 6000 waggons, which they saved. The Czar sent General *Flug* to fall upon them again the fifth time; and the General offered them an honourable capitulation. *Levenhaup* refused it, and the fifth battle was as bloody as any of the former. Of the 9000 soldiers he had left, he lost one half, and the other remained unbroken. At last night coming on, *Levenhaup*, after having sustained five battles against 50,000 men, swam over the *Soffa*, followed by the 5000 men he had left alive, and the wounded were carried over on floats. The Czar lost above 20,000 *Moscovites* in these five engagements, and *Levenhaup* came to his master's camp with the honour of having made so good a defence, but bringing with him neither ammunition nor army.

In this extremity the memorable winter of 1709, which was still more terrible in these frontiers of *Europe*, than it was in *France*, carried off part of his army. *Charles* however ventured to make long marches with his troops during the excessive severity of the weather. 'Twas in one of these marches that 2000 of his men were froze to death almost before his eyes.

The horsemen had no boots, and the foot were without shoes, and almost without clothes. They were forced to make stockings of the skins of beasts in the best manner they could: They often wanted bread. They were obliged to throw the best part of their cannon into tagmires and rivers, for want of horses to draw them along. So that this once flourishing army was reduced to 24,000 men ready to perish for hunger. They no longer received news from *Sweden*, nor were able to send thither. In this condition only one officer complained. "How, says the King, are you uneasy that you are so far from your wife? If you are a true soldier I will carry you to that distance that you shall scarce hear from *Sweden* once in three years."

A soldier ventured to present him, in presence of the whole army, with a piece of bread, that was black and mouldy, made of barley and oats, the only food they then had, nor had they enough of this. The King received the piece of bread without the least emotion, eat it entirely up, and then said coldly to the soldier, It is not good, but it may be eaten.

In this situation he at last received news from *Stockholm*, but it was only to inform him of the death of his sister the Duchess of *Holstein*, who was carried off by the small-pox in *December* 1708, in the 27th year of her age.

He learnt also that they had raised troops and money pursuant to his orders: But nothing could reach his camp; as there lay between him and *Stockholm* near five hundred leagues, and an enemy superior in number to encounter.

The Czar advanced very soon into *Ukrania* in the midst of this severe winter to oppose the King of *Sweden*. He continued there with the artful

view

view of weakening the enemy by small engagements, as the *Swedish* army could not be recruited.

The cold there must have been excessive indeed, since it obliged the two enemies to agree upon a suspension of arms. But upon the first of *February* they began to engage again in the midst of ice and snows.

After several small skirmishes, and some disadvantages, the King's army was reduced in *April* to 18000 *Swedes*, *Mazepa* alone, the Prince of the *Cossacks*, supplied them with the necessaries of life. The Czar in this conjuncture offered conditions to *Mazepa*, to draw him again into his service. But the *Cossack* continued faithful to his new ally.

*Charles* with his 18000 *Swedes*, and as many *Cossacks*, towards the end of *May* went to lay siege to *Pultowa*, upon the river *Varistat*, on the borders of *Ukrania* eastward, about thirteen long leagues from the *Berisibena*, where the Czar had erected a magazine. If the King took it, it would open him the road to *Moscow*, and in the abundance he should then possess, he could at least wait for the coming up of the succours he still expected from *Sweden*, *Livonia*, *Pomerania*, and *Poland*. His sole refuge being then in the conquest of *Pultowa* he carried on the siege with vigour. *Mazepa*, who had a correspondence in the town, assured him he would soon be master of it; and hope began to revive in his army.

The King continued the siege and carried the advanced works and even gave two assaults to the body of the place. One Day the King, having rode into the river to take a nearer view of some of the works, received a shot from a carbine, which pierced through his boot, and shattered the bone of his heel. He continued calmly

to give orders, and remained near six hours on horseback afterwards. One of his domesticks at last perceiving that the sole of his boot was bloody, made haste to call the surgeons; and the King's pain then began to be so sharp, that they were forced to take him off his horse, and carry him into his tent. The surgeons, when they had examined the wound, were of opinion that the leg must be cut off. But one of the surgeons named *Newman*, who was better skilled than the rest, was positive that by making deep incisions he could save the King's leg. "Fall to work then," presently, says the King, "cut boldly, fear nothing." He held the leg himself with both his hands, looking upon the incisions that were made, as though the operation had been performed upon another person.

As they were laying on the dressing, he gave orders for an assault the next morning; but the orders were scarce given, before word was brought him, that the Czar appeared with an army of above 70,000 men. *Charles* incapable of acting, saw himself inclosed between the *Borisphenes*, and the river which runs to *Pultowa*, in a desert country, without any places of security, or ammunition, and opposed to an army, which prevented him either from retreating or being supplied with provisions. In this extremity, on the 7th of July at night he sent for Mareschal *Renchild* into his tent, and ordered him to prepare to attack the Czar the next morning. *Renchild* went out with a resolution to obey him. At the door of the King's tent he met Count *Piper*, who asked him, if any thing new had happened: No, says the General coldly, and passed on to give his orders. As soon as *Piper* was entered into the tent, "Has *Renchild* said any thing to you?" says the King

King to him. Nothing, answers *Piper*. "Well then, replies the King, I tell you that to-morrow we shall give battle." Count *Piper* only expressed his astonishment by his silence, and left the King to sleep till break of day.

At day-break the *Swedes* appeared out of their trenches with four iron cannons for their whole artillery; the rest were left in the camp with about 3000 men; and 4000 remained with the baggage. So that the *Swedish* army, which marched against the enemy, consisted of about 25,000 men, whereof there were not above 12000 regular troops.

The *Swedish* Generals, most of whom had seen the battle of *Narva*, put the officers in mind of that day.

The King conducted the march, carried in a litter at the head of his foot. A party of horse advanced by his order to attack that of the enemy. The battle began with this engagement at half an hour after four in the morning. The enemies horse lay westward on the right of the *Moscovite* camp: Prince *Menzicof* and Count *Gallowin* had placed them at a distance between redoubts fortified with cannon. General *Slipenbak* fell upon them. The *Moscovite* squadrons were broken and routed. The Czar himself ran to rally them, and his hat was shot through with a musket ball; *Menzicof* had three horses killed under him; and the *Swedes* cried out victory.

*Charles* had dispatched General *Crents* about midnight with 5000 horse, who were to take the enemy in flank, whilst he attacked them in front; but *Crents* went out of the way, and did not appear. The Czar had time to rally his horse. He fell upon the King's cavalry in his turn, which not being supported by *Crents's* detach-



They told him he was taken with all the officers of the Chancery : and General *Renschild*, and the Duke of *Wirtemberg* ? added the King. They are prisoners too, says *Poniatosky*. " Prisoners to *Moscovites* ! replies *Charles* shrugging up his shoulders, Come on then let us go to the *Turks* rather."

Whilst he was getting off, the *Moscovites* seized upon his artillery in the camp before *Pultowa*, his baggage, and the money he had raised for carrying on the war, where they found six millions in specie, the spoils of *Poland* and *Saxony*. Near 9000 *Swedes* were killed in the battle, about 6000 were taken, 3 or 4000 ran away, and were never heard of since. There still remained near 18000 men ; comprehending the *Cosaques*, with the *Swedes* and *Poles*, who fled towards the *Boristhenes* under the direction of General *Levenhaup*. He marched one way with these fugitive troops, whilst the King took another road with some of his horse. The coach, in which he rode, broke down in his march, and they set him again on horseback. And to finish his misfortune, he wandered all night in a wood ; and the pain of his wound becoming more insupportable by fatigue, and his horse falling under him thro' excessive weariness, he rested himself for some hours at the foot of a tree, in danger of being surprized every moment.

At last, on the 9th of *July* at night, he found himself upon the banks of the *Boristhenes*, and *Levenhaup* just arrived with the remains of his army. The *Swedes* saw their King again, whom they judged to have been dead, with a joy mixed with sorrow. The enemy drew nigh, and they had no bridge to pass the river, nor time to make one, nor powder to defend themselves against the enemy who came upon them, nor provisions to hinder

this last action the whole army was routed by a single line of 10,000 of the *Moscovite* foot.

The King, carried upon pikes by four grenadiers, covered with blood, and all over bruised with his fall, and scarce able to speak, cried out, *Swedes, Swedes.* Anger and Grief renewing his strength, he tried to rally some of his regiments; but the *Moscovites* closely pursued them with their swords, bayonets, and pikes. The Prince of *Wirttemberg*, General *Renchild*, *Hamilton*, and *Stu- kelberg* were already taken prisoners, the camp before *Pultowa* forced, all in a confusion which did not admit of any remedy, and Count *Piper* with all the officers of the chancery were made prisoners by the garrison.

The King would not fly, and could not defend himself. General *Poniatosky* chanced to be by him that instant. He made a sign to a young Swede, named *Frederick*, the King's first valet de chambre, and as intrepid as his master; they take the King under their arms, and mount him on horseback, notwithstanding the excessive pains of his wound. *Frederick* mounted another horse riding near his master, and supporting him from time to time.

*Poniatosky*, though he had no command in the army, being made a General on this occasion by necessity, drew up 5000 horse near the King's person. This body, reanimated by the misfortune of their Prince, made their way through more than ten regiments of *Moscovites*, and conducted *Charles* through the midst of the enemy the space of a league to the baggage of the *Swedish* army.

They found amongst the baggage Count *Piper's* coach. They put him into it, and made towards the *Boristhenes* with all possible speed. The King then asked what was become of Count *Piper*?

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The Prince sent a trumpet to the *Swedish* General to offer him a capitulation. Four general officers were presently sent by *Levenhaup* to receive the law of the conqueror; the capitulation was settled, and the whole army were made prisoners of war. They all filed off in presence of the Prince, laying their arms at his feet, as 30,000 *Moscovites* had done nine years before at the King of *Sweden's* at *Narva*. But whereas the King then sent back all the *Moscovite* prisoners, whom he was not afraid of, the Czar retained all the *Swedes* that were taken at *Pultowa*, and sent most of them into *Siberia*.

Count *Piper* was a long time imprisoned at *Petersburg*, and died some years after at *Moscow*.

The Emperor received upon the field of battle the prisoners they brought him, in troops, and asked every moment, Where then is my brother *Charles*?

He invited the *Swedish* Generals to dine with him. Amongst other questions, he asked General *Renchild*, What number the troops of the King his master might amount to before the battle? *Renchild* answered, That the King only kept the list of them, which he never communicated to any body; but he thought the whole might be about 35,000 men, whereof 18,000 were *Swedes*, and the rest *Cosaques*. The Czar seemed surprized, and asked how they durst venture to penetrate into so distant a country, and lay siege to *Pultowa* with such a handful of men? We were not always consulted, answers the *Swedish* General, but, as faithful servants, we obeyed our Master's orders, without ever contradicting them. The Czar, upon this, turned towards certain courtiers, who had formerly been suspected of engaging in a conspiracy against him, " Ah!

## CHARLES XII.

“ Ah! says he, see how a Sovereign should be obeyed.” And then taking a glass of wine, he said, “ To the health, says he, of my masters in the art of war.” *Renchild* asked, “ Who those whom he honoured with so high a title?” “ Gentlemen, the *Swedish* Generals,” replies *Czar*. “ Your Majesty then,” says *Renchild*, “ is very ungrateful, to treat your masters so severely.” When dinner was over, the *Czar* ordered their swords to be restored to all the general officers, and conducted himself to the Prince who had a mind to give his subjects lessons of generosity and civility.

Thus the *Swedish* army, which left *Saxon* triumphant, was now no more. One half of them perished by want, and the other half made slaves or massacred. *Charles XII.* had in one day the fruit of nine years pains, and lost a hundred battles. He fled in a wretched calash, having Major General *Hoord* by his side dangerously wounded. The rest of his troops followed, some on foot, others on horseback, some in waggons, across a desert, where they found neither huts, tents, men, animals, nor provisions; every thing was wanting there, even to water themselves. ’Twas then the beginning of *July*; the sand of the desert rendered the heat of the sun more insupportable; the horses fell by the road, and the men were ready to die with thirst. *Count Poniatosky*, who was a little better mounted than the rest, advanced before them into the plain, and having spied a willow, he judged it must be water nigh, and he sought about, till he found the spring. This happy discovery saved the lives of the King of *Sweden*’s little troop. After five days march he found himself upon the banks of the river *Hippanis*, now called the *Eogh*.

Be-

Beyond the *Bogh*, towards the south, lies the little town of *Ozakow*, a frontier of the *Turk* Empire. The inhabitants seeing a troop of soldiers coming towards them, whose dress and language they were strangers to, refused to carry them over to *Ozakow* without an order from *Mahamet Basha* the Governor of the town. The King sent an express to the Governor to ask a passage; but the *Turk* not knowing what to do in a country where a false step very often costs a man his life, durst take nothing upon himself without having first the permission of the *Basha* of the province, who resides at *Bender* in *Bessrabia*, thirty leagues from *Ozakow*. The permission came with orders to pay the King all the honours due to a Monarch allied to the *Porte*, and to furnish him with all necessary provisions. During these delays, the *Moscovites*, having passed the *Boristhenes* pursued the King with all possible speed, and if they had come an hour sooner, they must have taken him. He had scarce passed the *Bogh* in the *Turk* boats, before his enemies appeared to the number of almost 6000 horse. And his Majesty had the misfortune of seeing 500 of his little troop, who had not been able to get over time enough, seized by the *Moscovites* on the other side the river. The *Basha* of *Ozakow* asked his pardon for the delay which had occasioned the taking those 500 men prisoners, and besought him not to complain of it to the Grand Signior. *Charles* promised him he would not, but gave him at the same time a severe reprimand.

The Commander of *Bender*, who was both *Seraskier* and *Basha* of the province, sent presently an *Aga* to compliment the King, and offer him a magnificent tent, with provisions, baggage, waggon, and all the conveniencies, officers, and attendants requisite to conduct him handsomely to *Bender*.

## CHAP. V.

CHARLES resides near Bender. His intrigues at the Porte. Augustus restored. The King of Denmark makes a descent upon Sweden. The affair of Pruth.

THE King had no sooner set foot upon the Sultan's territories at *Ozakow*, than he wrote him a letter to inform him of his late misfortune and present distress; to entreat his assistance to enable him to return to *Poland*, and to furnish him with an army to humble the Czar; and for that end proposed an alliance between the *Porte* and him.

The Sultan did not answer him till six months after, and then refused to be explicit upon the alliance proposed against the Czar, but ordered the *Basha* of *Bender* to advance him 500 dollars a day for his support.

From the first moment of King Charles's repairing to the *Turkish* territories, he had laid the design of turning the *Ottoman* arms upon his enemies: He already fancied he saw himself at the head of the *Turkish* forces, reducing *Poland* again under the yoke, and subduing *Moscow*. M. de *Neugbaver* set out from *Ozakow* for *Constantinople*, with the character of the King's Envoy Extraordinary. Count *Poniatosky* attended the *Swedish* Embassy, but in a private capacity, in order to sound the dispositions of the *Constantinopolitan* Ministry, without being tied up to the usual forms. He knew how to gain in a short time the favour of the Grand Visir, who loaded him with presents; and had the art to convey a letter of the King of *Sweden's*, to the Sultana *Valide*, mother

to the Emperor then upon the throne. He entered into a close friendship with one *Brua Frenchman*, who had been Chancellor to the *French Embassy*. This man was perpetually talking of the King of *Sweden's* exploits to the chief of the Sultana's eunuchs, who charmed his mistress with repeating them. The Sultana took the King's part openly in the *Seraglio*; she called him by no other name than that of her Lion: And when will you, said she sometimes to the Sultan her son, help my Lion to devour this Czar? She even wrote several letters with her own hand to Count *Poniatosky*.

At length the King of *Sweden's* party was become so powerful at *Constantinople*, by *Poniatosky's* management, that the faction of the *Moscovite* Envoy thought their only refuge was to poison him; but the poison was found in one of his own servant's hands, in a little phial, which they carried to the Grand Signior. The poisoner was tried in full Divan, and condemned to the galleys; for the *Turkish* law never punishes such crimes capitally, as were intended only, but not executed.

The Grand Visir appeared as eager as the Sultana *Valide* to serve the King of *Sweden*: He told *Poniatosky*, giving him at the same time a purse of 1000 ducats, I will take your King in one hand, and a sword in the other, and carry him to *Moscow*, at the head of 200,000 men. This Visir, by name *Chourlouy Ali-Basha*, was a very able minister, expert in the art of war, and a better politician than such persons usually are.

The King was honourably conducted to *Bender*: When he arrived there, he had 1800 men with him, who were all fed and lodged, both they,

they and their horses, at the expence of the Grand Signior.

The King chose to encamp near *Bender* rather than lodge in the town. The Sersaquier *Jussuf Basha* caused a magnificent tent to be pitched for him, and tents also were provided for all the Lords of his retinue. One morning going into the house of his Chancellor *Mullern*, who was asleep, he forbade them to awake him, and waited in the anti-chamber, where there was a large fire in the chimney, and near it several pair of shoes that *Mullern* had sent for from *Germany* for his own use. The King threw them all into the fire, and then went away. When the Chancellor upon waking perceived the smell of the burnt leather, and had enquired into the reason of it, "What a strange King is this, says he, that his Chancellor must be always booted !

Thus was *Charles XII.* employed at *Bender*, where he waited till an army of *Turks* should come to his assistance. To dispose the *Ottoman Porte* to this war, he detached about 800 *Poles* and *Coszaques* of his retinue, with orders to pass the *Neister*, that runs by *Bender*, and to go and observe what passed upon the frontiers of *Poland*.

The *Moscovite* troops dispersed in those quarters fell immediately upon this little company, and pursued them even to the territories of the Grand Signior. This was what the King of *Sweden* expected. His ministers and emissaries at the *Porte* made a great clamour against this irruption, and excited the *Turks* to vengeance : But the *Czar's* money removed all difficulties. *Tolstoy* his Envoy at *Constantinople* gave the Grand Visir and his creatures part of the six millions that had been found at *Pultowa* in the King of *Sweden's* military chest. After such a detence the *Divan* found



the Czar *Not guilty*. And so far were they from talking of making war against him, that they granted such honours and privileges to his Envoy as the *Moscovite* Ministers had never before enjoyed at *Constantinople*. He was suffered to have a palace in the quarters of the *Franks*, and to converse with the foreign Ministers.

King *Charles* thus abandoned by the Grand Visir, found himself deluded, scorned by the *Porte* and in a manner a prisoner among the *Tartars*; yet did not shew the least dejection of spirit. He imagined the Sultan was ignorant of the intrigues of *Chourlouly Ali* his Grand Visir, and resolved to make him acquainted with them, and *Pomiatosky* undertook this bold commission. The Grand Signior went every *Friday* to the Mosque encompassed with his guards; when any one had a petition to present to him, the way was to mix himself among them, and hold the petition up in the air. Sometimes the Sultan vouchsafed to take it himself; but more frequently he ordered an *Agá* to take care of it, and upon his return from the mosque, caused the petitions to be laid before him. He drew up a representation against the Grand Visir sufficient to ruin him. *M. de Feriolle*, the *French Ambassador*, got it translated into *Turkish*. A *Greek* was hired to present it, who mingling himself among the Grand Signior's guards, held up the paper so high, and made such a noise, that the Sultan perceived it, and took the memoir himself.

Some days after the Sultan in answer to the King of *Sweden's* complaints, sent him twenty five *Arabian* horses, one of which that had carried his Highness, was covered with a saddle and housings enriched with precious stones, and the stirrups were of massy gold. With this present he sent an obliging

liging letter, but conceived in general terms, and such as gave reason to suspect that the Minister had done nothing without the Sultan's consent. *Ghourelously* also, who knew how to dissemble, sent five very curious horses to the King. But his Majesty, with a haughty air, told the person that brought them; "Go back to your Master, and tell him, that I don't receive presents from mine enemies."

M. *Poniatosky* having already had the courage to get a petition presented against the Grand Visir, then formed the bold design of deposing him. He knew the Visir was no favourite of the Sultan's mother, and was the aversion both of *Kisslar Aga*, the chief of the black eunuchs, and of the *Aga* of the Janisaries: he encouraged all three to speak against him. But *Poniatosky* had never succeeded, and the bare attempt had cost him his life, had not a stronger power than all those in his interests given the last blow to the Grand Visir *Ghourelously's* fortune.

The Sultan had a young Favourite, who has since govern'd the Ottoman Empire. His name was *Coumourgi Ali-Basha*, but was at no time a friend to King *Charles*, or any other Christian Prince, nor any of their Ministers: but on this occasion, he served the King without designing it. He joined with the Sultana *Valide*, and the great officers of the *Porte*, to contrive *Ghourelously's* ruin, whom they all hated, and by their intrigues he was deprived of his dignity and his wealth. The bull, that is to say, the seal of the empire, was given to *Numan Kouprongly*, grandson to the great *Couprongly*, who took *Candide*. This new Visir was a man of inflexible virtue, and a scrupulous observer of the law; and he often opposed Justice to the Sultan's will. He would not hear of a war against *Mos-*

*copy*, which he looked upon as unjust and unnecessary. But yet had a strict regard to the duty of hospitality with respect to the King of *Sweden*. He sent his Majesty 800 purses, every one of which amounted to 500 crowns, and advised him to return peaceably into his own dominions, through the Emperor of *Germany's* territories, or else in some *French* vessels, that were then lying at the port of *Constantinople*; and which M. de *Ferriolle*, the *French* Ambassador at the *Porte*, offered King *Charles*, to transport him to *Marseilles*. The King of *Sweden*, who in his prosperity had provoked the Emperor of *Germany*, and disobliged *Lewis XIV*, thought it too great a mortification to owe his return to *France*, and that he should run too great a risque of his liberty in passing through the Imperial territories. He rejected with an air of disdain both these ways of returning to his kingdom, and sent the Visir and M. de *Ferriole* word, that he should depend upon the Grand Signior's promise, and hoped to re-enter *Poland* as a conqueror, with an army of *Turks*. In the mean time, all his enemies took fresh courage, and invaded his kingdom.

*Charles's* power, and the grandeur of *Sweden*, were now drawing to their last period: Above ten crowned Heads had for some time beheld, with fear and envy, the *Swedish* government extending itself far beyond its natural bounds, to the other side of the *Baltick* sea, from the *Duna* quite up to the *Elbe*. *Charles's* misfortune, and his absence, awakened the interests and jealousies of all these Princes, which had for a long season been laid asleep by treaties, and an inability to break them.

The *Czar*, who was more powerful than all of them put together, making immediately the best use

use of his victory, took *Wibourg*; and all *Carolia*, over-ran *Finland* with his troops, sat down before *Riga*, and sent an army into *Poland* to assist *Augustus* in the recovery of his throne.

There were about 12 or 13,000 *Swedes* who defended *Pomerania*, and the other countries which *Charles* possessed in *Germany*. Here was to have been the seat of war. But this storm alarmed the Emperor and his allies. For it is a law of the Empire, that whoever invades one of the provinces should be reputed an enemy to the whole *Germanic* body.

But there was a still much greater difficulty in the Affair. All these Princes, except the Czar, were then in league against *Lewis XIV.* whose power had for some time been as formidable to the Empire as that of King *Charles*.

In the mean time the Czar continued the blockade of *Riga*, and the Generals made themselves masters of the rest of *Livonia*, and part of *Finland*. At the same time the King of *Denmark* came with his entire fleet to make a descent upon *Sweden*, where he landed 17,000 men, whom he left under the command of Count *Reventlau*.

*Sweden* was at that time governed by a Regency, composed of some Senators appointed by the King at his departure from *Stockholm*. The Senatorial Body which looked upon the government as of right belonging to them, was jealous of the Regency, and the state suffered by these divisions. But upon the first news they received at *Stockholm*, after the battle of *Paltowa*, viz. That the King was at *Bender*, in the hands of the *Turks* and *Tartars*, and that the *Danes* had made a descent upon *Schonen*, and taken the town of *Elfsborg*, all jealousies vanished, and they thought of nothing but saving *Sweden*. There were now very

very few regular forces left. For notwithstanding *Charles* had always made his great expeditions at the head of small armies, yet the innumerable battles he had been engaged in for nine years together, the constant necessity he was under of recruiting his forces, and maintaining his garrisons, and the standing army he was obliged to keep always in *Finland, Ingria, Livonia, Pomerania, Bremen and Verden*: All this had cost *Sweden*, during the course of the war, above 250,000 soldiers, and there remained not so many as 8000 men of the old troops, who, with the new forces, were the only defence of *Sweden*.

*Sweden*, by training up the peasants to arms, became a seminary of soldiers during the wars of *Charles XII*: The nation is born with a military genius, and the whole people insensibly received the same cast of mind as their King.

General *Steinbock*, by order of the Regency, put himself at the head of 8000 old troops, and 22,000 of the new ones, to go in pursuit of the *Danes*, who ravaged all the country about *Elfsborg*, and had already put some distant places under contribution.

There was neither time nor opportunity to clothe the militia with military habits. Most of these boors came in their flaxen frocks, having pistols tied to their girdles with cords. *Steinbock* at the head of this extraordinary army, came up with the *Danes*, within three leagues of *Elfsborg*, on the 10th of *March* 1710. He was minded to rest his troops some days, to intrench himself, and give these new soldiers time to be acquainted with the enemy: but all the peasants called out to fight at the very moment of their arrival.

*Steinbock* took the advantage of this disposition, which, in a day of battle, is of as much service

as military discipline. The *Danes* were attacked, and one might have seen raw forces equal in the first onset the intrepidity of the old regiments. Two regiments of these undisciplined peasants cut the regiment of the King of *Denmark's* guards in pieces, and left but ten men remaining.

The *Danes* being entirely routed, made their retreat under the cannon of *Elfsborg*. The passage from *Sweden* to *Zealand* is so short, that the King of *Denmark* received the same day, at *Copenhagen*, the news of his army's defeat in *Sweden*, and sent his fleet to bring off the remains of his troops.

King *Charles* received this comfortable news in his camp at *Bender*, in July 1710, and in a little time after another accident confirmed him in his hopes,

The Grand Visir *Comprongly*, who opposed his designs, was turned out, after he had been two months in the Ministry.

After this the Grand Signior sent to *Aleppo* for *Baltagi Mahomet*, Basha of *Syria*, who had been Grand Visir before *Chourlouly*.

*Baltagi Mahomet* had no sooner received the seals of the Empire, than he found the King of *Sweden's* interest prevailing in the Seraglio. The Sultana *Valide*, *Ali Coudourgi* the Grand Signior's Favourite, the *Kissar Aga* chief of the black Eunuchs, and the *Aga* of the Janissaries, were for war against the Czar. The Sultan was determined upon it, and the very first order he gave the Grand Visir, was to go and fall upon the *Moscovites* with 200,000 men. He told the Grand Signior, upon receiving from his hand a sabre set with precious stones, "Your Highness knows that I've been brought up to use an ax and fell wood, and not to wield a sword and command armies:

I will

I will endeavour to serve you in the best manner I am able ; but if I fail of success, remember that I have entreated you not to lay it to my charge. The Sultan assured him of his good will, and the Visir prepared to obey him.

The first step of the *Ottoman Porte* upon this occasion, was to imprison the *Moscovite* Ambassador in the castle of the seven towers. It is a custom of the *Turks* to begin with seizing the Ministers of those Princes against whom they declare war.

The Han of *Crim Tartary*, whom we call the Kam, had orders to be in readiness with 40,000 *Tatars*.

The Czar, in all appearance, must have requited *Batragi Mahomet*, but he too much despised his enemy. Upon the news of the *Turk* preparations, he left *Moscow* ; and having given orders to turn the siege of *Riga* into a blockade, he drew up his army to the number of 80,000 men, upon the frontiers of *Poland*. With this army he marched to *Moldavia* and *Wallachia*, formerly the country of the *Daci*, but now inhabited by *Greek Christians*, tributaries to the *Grand Signior*.

A *Greek* named *Cantemir*, made Prince of *Moldavia* by the *Turks*, joined the Czar, whom he already looked upon as conqueror, and made no scruple to betray the Sultan, of whom he held the principality, for the sake of a Christian Prince from whom he expected much greater advantage.

As soon as the grand Visir received the news that *Peter Alexiowitz* was come thither, he immediately left the camp at *Belgrade*, and following the course of the *Danube*, proposed to pass that river on a bridge of boats near *Saccta*, in the very same place where *Darius* formerly built a bridge.

lge that bore his name. The *Turkish* army  
ched with so much expedition, that they soon  
e in sight of the *Moscovites*, the river *Pruth*  
ng between them.

The Czar, sure of the Prince of *Moldavia*,  
le thought the subjects would fail him. But

*Moldavians* are often in a different interest  
m that of their master. They liked the *Turkish*  
ernment, which is never fatal to any but the  
andees, and affects a lenity to people who are  
tributaries. They feared the Christians, espe-  
lly the *Moscovites*, who had upon all occasions  
d them barbarously. They brought all their  
visions to the *Ottoman* army.

The Czar, thus frustrated of his hopes, found  
army on a sudden destitute of provisions, and  
thout forage. In the mean time the *Turks*  
led the river that separated them from the  
emy. All the *Tartars*, according to custom,  
am over it, holding by the tails of their horses.  
he Spahis, which are the *Turkish* horse, did the  
ne, because the bridges were not ready time  
ough.

At length the whole army being got over, the  
fir pitched a camp, and fortified it with trench-

The Czar found himself without provisions,  
th the river *Pruth* behind him, and near 150,000  
*urks* before him, and about 40,000 *Tartars* conti-  
ally harrassing him on the right-hand and the  
t. Reduced to this extremity, he said publick-

"I am at least in as bad a case as my brother  
*Charles* was at *Pultowa*."

The indefatigable Count *Pomietofky*, agent to  
King of *Sweden*, was in the Grand Visir's army  
th some *Poles* and *Swedes*, who all thought the  
ar's ruin inevitable.



As soon as *Poniatofsky* saw that the armies must infallibly engage, he sent an express to the King of *Sweden*, who set out that moment from *Bender* followed by forty Officers, and enjoying by anticipation the pleasure of fighting the Emperor of *Moscow*. After many a loss, and several destructive marches, the Czar was driven back upon the *Pruth*, and had no cover left but some *chevaux frise*, and some waggons. A party of the Janissaries and Spahis fell immediately upon his army in that defenceless condition, but they did it in a tumultuous and disorderly manner; and were received by the *Moscovites* with a resolution, which nothing but despair and the presence of their Prince could inspire.

The *Turks* were twice repulsed. But the day following M. *Poniatofsky* advised the Grand Visir to starve out the *Moscovite* army, who, being destitute of all provision, would, in a day's time, be obliged, together with their Emperor, to surrender at discretion.

About the beginning of the night the Czar called General *Czeremetof* to him, and gave him a peremptory order to get every thing ready by break of day, to charge the *Turks* with bayonets at the muzzle of their muskets, and to burn all the Baggage.

Having settled every thing with the General in order to the battle, he retired into his tent full of grief, and seized with convulsions, a distemper he was often troubled with, and which came upon him with double violence when he was under any great uneasiness. He forbid all persons to enter his tent in the night upon any pretence whatsoever, not caring to have any remonstrances made to him against a desperate but necessary resolution.

In the mean time the greatest part of his baggage was burnt according to his order, and all the army followed the example, tho' with much regret. The General Officers had already given orders for the march, and endeavoured to inspire the army with a courage which themselves wanted: but the soldiers, quite exhausted with fatigue and hunger, marched without spirit and without hope; every one expected death or slavery to be their portion the next morning.

There was at that time in the *Moscovite* camp a woman as extraordinary perhaps as the Czar himself. She was then known only by the name of *Catharine*. Her mother was a poor country-woman, named *Erb-Magden*, of the village of *Ringen* in *Estonia*, a province where the people hold by villenage, and which was at that time under the dominion of *Sweden*. She never knew her father, but was baptized by the name of *Martha*, and registered among the bastard-children.

At the age of eighteen she married a *Swedish* dragoon in 1702. The day after her marriage, a party of the *Swedish* troops were beat by the *Moscovites*, and the dragoon who was in the action never appeared afterwards, nor could she learn whether he was taken prisoner, nor ever after get any account of him.

Some days after she was taken prisoner herself and became a servant to General *Czeremetof*, who gave her to *Menzicof*.

The Czar was at supper with Prince *Menzicof* when he first saw her and fell in love with her. In 1707 he married her privately, not that she used any artifice to delude him, but because he found in her an astonishing capacity, and a greatness of soul capable of forwarding  
I his

his designs, and even of continuing them after him.

Upon her marriage with the Czar, she renounced the *Lutheran Religion*, in which she was born, for that of *Moscow*, and was baptized according to the rites of the *Russian Church*, instead of *Martha* assuming the name of *Catharine*, by which she has been known ever since. This woman, being in the camp at *Pruth*, held a private council with the General Officers, and *Shaffirof* the Vice Chancellor, while the Czar was in his tent.

They agreed that it was necessary to sue for peace to the *Turks*, and that the Czar must be persuaded into the proposal. The Vice Chancellor wrote a letter to the Grand Visir, in the name of his Master, which the Czarina, notwithstanding the Emperor's prohibition, carried into the tent to him; and having prevailed upon him to sign it, she took all her money and jewels, and every thing of value that she had about her, together with what she could borrow of the General Officers, which in all amounted to a considerable present, and sent it with the Czar's letter, to *Osman Aga*, Lieutenant to the Grand Visir. *Mahomet Baltagi* answered haughtily with the air of a Visir and a Conqueror, "Let the Czar send me his first Minister, and I will see what is to be done." The Vice-Chancellor *Shaffirof* came immediately with a present in his hand, which he offered publicly to the Grand Visir. It was considerable enough to let him see they stood in need of him, but too little for a bribe.

The Grand Visir's first demand was, that the Czar, with all his army, should surrender at discretion.

cretion. The Vice-Chancellor made answer, that his Master designed to give him battle within a quarter of an hour, and that the *Moscovites* would all be cut in pieces, rather than submit to such dishonourable conditions. *Osman* seconded *Saffros* with fresh remonstrances.

*Mahomet Baltagi* was no soldier. He knew the Janisaries had been repulsed the day before, and was easily persuaded by *Osman* not to part with certain advantages for the hazard of a battle. He immediately granted a suspension of arms for six hours, and in that time the terms of the treaty were agreed upon and settled.

In the mean time the Kam of *Tartary* opposed the conclusion of a treaty, which took from him all hopes of pillage. *Poniatosky* seconded him with very urgent and pressing reasons. But *Osman* carried his point notwithstanding the impatience of the *Tartar*, and the insinuations of *Poniatosky*.

At length the treaty was going to be signed without so much as mentioning the King of *Sweden*: And all that *Poniatosky* could obtain from the *Visir*, was to insert an article, by which the *Moscovite* should promise not to obstruct or incommode the return of *Charles XII.* and that a peace should be concluded between the Czar and the King of *Sweden*, if they were so disposed, and could agree upon the terms of it.

On these conditions the Czar had liberty to retreat with his army, cannon, artillery, colours, and baggage. The *Turks* furnished him with provisions, and there was plenty of every thing in his camp within two hours after the signing of the treaty, which was begun, concluded and signed the 21st of July 1711.

Just as the Czar was drawing off with drums beating, and ensigns displayed, came the King of *Sweden*, impatient of fighting, and eager to see his enemy in his hands. He had rid post above fifty leagues, from *Bender* to *Jazy*, and lighting at Count *Poniatosky's* tent, the Count came up to him with a sorrowful countenance, and acquainted him, by what means he had lost an opportunity, which perhaps he would never recover.

The King enraged went directly to the Grand Visir, and with an air of indignation upbraided him with the treaty he had concluded. "I have authority, says the Grand Visir, with a calm aspect, to wage war, and to make peace." But, replies the King, have not you the whole *Moscovite* army in your power? "Our law, says the Visir with great gravity, commands us to grant our enemies peace, when they implore our mercy." "Ah! replies the King in a violent emotion, does it order you to clap up a bad treaty, when you are in a capacity to make what terms you please? Was it not in your power to carry the Czar prisoner to *Constantinople*?"

The *Turk* finding himself so briskly attacked, answered very coldly, and who shall govern his Empire in his absence? It is not fit that all Kings should be out of their kingdoms. *Charles* replied with a smile full of indignation, and then threw himself down upon a *Sopha*, and looking upon the Visir with an air of resentment and contempt, he stretched out his leg towards him, and entangling his spur in his robe, which he did by design, tore it; then rose up immediately, mounted his horse, and returned to *Bender* full of despair.

## CHAP. VI.

*The Kam of Tartary and the Basha of Bender endeavour to force Charles to be gone. He defends himself with forty domestics against the whole Army. He is taken.*

THE King at his return, found his little camp at *Bender*, and all his apartment under water, caused by an inundation of the *Neister*. He retired to some miles distance, near a Village called *Varnitza*; and as if he had had some secret presage of the event that he was afterwards to experience, he built a large house of stone there, capable, upon occasion, of sustaining an assault for some hours.

Besides this, he built two more, one for his Chancery, and the other for his favourite *Grotthusen*, who kept a table at his expence. While the King was thus employed in building at *Bender*, as if he had designed to continue always in *Turky*, *Baltagi Mahomet*, being more apprehensive than ever of the intrigues and complaints of this Prince at the *Porte*, had sent the Emperor of *Germany's* Resident to *Vienna*, to procure a passage for the King of *Sweden* through the hereditary territories of the house of *Austria*. This Envoy came back in three weeks time, with a promise from the Imperial Regency, that they would pay *Charles XII.* all due honours, and conduct him safely into *Pomerania*.

While the German Envoy was executing this commission at *Vienna*, the Grand Visir sent three *Bashas* to the King of *Sweden*, to acquaint him that he must be gone out of the territories of the *Turkish* Empire.

The King sent them word, that if they ventured to make any proposal contrary to his honour, or to fail in their respects towards him, he would hang them all three up the same hour. The *Basha of Thessalonica*, who delivered the message, disguised the roughness of his commission under the most respectful terms. *Charles* dismissed the audience without vouchsafing one word of answer; but his Chancellor *Mullen*, who staid with the three *Bashas*, signified his Master's refusal to them in a few words.

The Grand Visir ordered *Ismael Basha*, the new Serasquier of *Bender*, to threaten the King with the Sultan's resentment, if he did not immediately come to a resolution. The Serasquier was a person of a sweet and winning temper, which had gained him *Charles's* goodwill, and the friendship of all the *Swedes*. The King let him know that he would not depart till *Achmet* had granted him two things, one of which was to punish the Grand Visir, and the other to furnish him with 100,000 men, in order to return into *Poland* at the head of them.

*Baltagi Mahomet* was very sensible that *Charles's* stay in *Turky* was only to ruin him. For this reason he placed a guard upon all the roads from *Bender* to *Constantinople*, with orders to intercept the King's letters. Besides this he retrench'd his *Tbaim*, i. e. the provision which the *Porte* allows the Princes to whom she grants an asylum in her dominions.

As soon as the King heard that the Visir had retrench'd his allowance, he turned to the Steward of his household, and said, *You have had but two tables hitherto, I command you to prepare four to morrow.*

In the mean time M. de *Poniatosky* wrote, and that from the camp of the Grand Visir, an account of the campaign of *Pruth*, wherein he accused *Baltagi Mahomet* of cowardice and treachery. This account he entrusted to an old Janissary, who went and presented the letter with his own hands to the Sultan.

*Poniatosky* set out from the camp some days after, and went to the *Ottoman Porte*, to cabal against the Grand Visir as usual, and by his intrigues so far prevailed, that *Baltagi Mahomet* was banished to the isle of *Lemnos*.

To this Visir succeeded *Jussuf*, that is *Joseph*; but he was only the shadow of a Minister. The young *Selictar Ali Commourgi* raised him to this slippery post, in hopes of filling it himself; and *Jussuf* his creature had nothing else to do, but to let the seal of the Empire to what the Favourite desired. The Czar's Plenipotentiaries were better treated than ever. The Grand Visir confirmed the peace of *Pruth* with them. But that which mortified the King of *Sweden* more than any other circumstance, was the account which he received, that the secret alliance made at *Constantinople* with the Czar, was effected by the mediation of the *English* and *Dutch* Ambassadors.

The King of *Sweden* was perpetually soliciting the *Porte* to send him back thro' *Poland* with a numerous army. The Divan indeed were determined to send him back, but it was only with a guard of 7 or 8000 men; not as a King they were disposed to succour, but as a guest they were desirous to be rid of. With this view Sultan *Achmet* wrote him a Letter; the purport of which was, that the King should return to his own territories, through *Poland*,  
under



under an honourable Guard which should attend him.

The King of *Sweden*, wrote the Sultan word, that he should always acknowledge the favours his Highness had heaped upon him; but he added, that he thought the Sultan too just to send him away with no other guard than that of a flying camp, into a country already over-run with the Czar's troops. Indeed the Emperor of *Russia*, notwithstanding he was obliged by the first article of the treaty of *Pruth* to draw all his forces out of *Poland*, had sent fresh ones thither: and it seems strange the Grand Signior should know nothing of it, and therefore sent an Aga to see whether the Czar's forces were still there or not. Two Secretaries of the King of *Sweden*, who understood the *Turkish* language, accompanied the Aga, in order to confront him in case of a false report.

This Aga saw the forces with his own eyes, and gave the Sultan a true account of the matter. *Achmet* in his rage, was going to strangle the Grand Visir; but the Favourite who protected him, obtained his pardon, and kept him some time longer in the Ministry.

The *Moscovites* were openly protected by the Visir, and underhand by *Ali Goumourgi*, who had changed sides. But the Sultan was so provoked, the infraction of the treaty was so manifest, and the Janisaries, who often make the Ministers, Favourites, and Sultans themselves tremble, called out so loudly for war, that nobody in the Seraglio durst offer at a more moderate opinion.

The Grand Signior immediately committed the *Moscovite* Ambassadors to the seven towers. War was declared afresh against the Czar, the  
horse

horse-tails displayed, and orders given to all the *Bashas* to raise an army of 200,000 fighting men. The Sultan himself quitted *Constantinople*, and fixed his court at *Adrianople*, in order to be nearer the seat of the war.

In the mean time a solemn Embassy from *Augustus* and the Republic of *Poland* to the Grand Signior was upon the road at *Adrianople*. At the head of this Embassy was the Palatine of *Massovia* with a retinue of above 300 persons.

These were all seized and imprisoned in the suburbs of the city. Never was the *Swedish* party fuller of hopes than upon this occasion: but by the Intrigues of the Visir these great preparations came to nothing, and all their expectations were disappointed.

Thus the army was scarce raised, when they hearkened to proposals for an accommodation. The Vice-Chancellor *Shaffirof* and young *Czeremetof*, the Czar's plenipotentiaries and hostages at the Porte, promised after several negotiations that the Czar should draw his troops out of *Poland*. The Grand Visir, who was sensible the Czar would not execute this treaty, was resolved however to sign it; and the Sultan, content with giving laws to the *Moscovites*, tho' only in appearance, continued still at *Adrianople*. Thus, in the space of less than six months, peace was ratified with the Czar, then war declared, and afterwards peace renewed again.

The main article in all these treaties related to the removal of the King of *Sweden*. The Sultan would not injure his own honour and that of the *Ottoman* Empire, so far as to expose the King to the danger of being taken upon the road by his enemies. It was stipulated that he should be sent away, but on condition that the Ambassadors

dors of *Poland* and *Moscovy* should be responsible for the security of his person; and those Ambassadors swore in the name of their Masters, that neither the Czar, nor King *Augustus*, should molest him in his passage, and *Charles* on the other hand was not to endeavour to raise any commotions in *Poland*. The Divan having thus determined *Charles's* fate, *Ismael* Serafsquier of *Bender* repaired to *Varnitsa*, where the King was encamped, and acquainted him with the resolutions of the *Porte*, giving him to understand in a civil manner, that there was no time to delay, but that he must be gone.

*Charles* made no other answer than this, that the Grand Signior had promised him an army, and not a guard; and that Kings ought to keep their word.

He told the Bascha of *Bender*, that he could not go till he was in a condition to pay his debts. For tho' his *Thaim* had for a long time been regularly paid, his generosity had always forced him to borrow. The Bascha asked him, how much he wanted; The King answered at a venture, a thousand purses; which amounts to 1,500,000 livres of *French* money full weight. The Bascha wrote to the *Porte* about it; and the Sultan instead of 1000 purses granted him 1200, which he sent to the Bascha with a letter, containing orders not to pay the money till the King set out.

*Charles*, enraged to see himself in a manner hunted out of the Grand Signior's territories, resolved not to stir a step.

When the 1200 purses were arrived, his Treasurer *Grothusen* went to wait upon the Bascha in hopes to get the money from him; and afterwards to form some new intrigue at the *Porte*;

## C H A R L E S  XII.

Porte; falsely imagining, as they always did, that the *Swedish* party would at length arm the *Ottoman* Empire against the Czar.

*Grothusen* told the *Basha*, that the King's equipages could not be got ready without money. But we, says the *Basha*, shall defray all your expenses. Your Master will be at no charge while he continues under my protection.

*Grothusen* replied, that the difference between the *Turkish* equipages; and those of the *French* was so great, that they were under a necessity of applying to the *Swedish* and *Polish* artificers at *Varmitza*.

He assured him, that his master was willing to go, and that this money would facilitate and hasten his departure. The too credulous *Bash* gave him the 1200 purses, and within a few days came and desired the king in a very respectful manner to give orders for their departing.

But he was extremely surprized, when the King told him he was not ready to go, and that he wanted a thousand purses more. The *Bash* confounded with this answer, was speechless for some time, and then went to a window, where he was seen to shed some tears. Afterwards turning to the King, "I shall lose my head," says he, for having obliged your Majesty. I have given you the 1200 purses against the express order of my Sovereign." With the words he took his leave, and was going away full of grief.

The King stopped him, and told him he would make an excuse for him to the Sultan. "Alas," replies the *Turk*, as he was going out, My Master can punish faults, but not excuse them."

*Ismael Bash* went to acquaint the *Kam* of *Ta* with the news. The *Kam* having received

the same order with the Basha, not to suffer the 1200 purses to be delivered before the King's departure, and having consented to the delivery of them, was as apprehensive of the Grand Signior's resentment as the Basha himself. They wrote both of them to the *Porte* to clear themselves, and protested that they had not part with the 1200 purses, but upon a solemn promise made to them by the King's Minister, to be gone immediately. And they intreated a Highness not to impute the King's refusal to their disobedience.

*Charles*, persisting in the notion that the King and the Basha designed to deliver him up into the hands of his enemies, ordered M. *Funk*, his Envoy at the *Ottoman* court, to lay his complaint against them before the Grand Signior, and to ask for a 1000 purses more.

*Funk* was forced to deliver this dangerous message; and all the answer he received was to be clapt up in prison. The Sultan, in a passion, called an extraordinary Divan, and which is very rarely done, spoke himself upon the occasion. His speech, according to the translation that was made of it, was as follows:

" I scarce ever knew the King of *Sweden* but  
 " by his defeat at *Pultowa*, and the request he  
 " made to me to grant him a sanctuary in my  
 " Empire. I have not, I believe, any need of  
 " him, nor any reason to love or fear him; yet  
 " without consulting any other motives than the  
 " hospitality of a *Mussulman*, and my own gene-  
 " rosity, which sheds the dew of its favours up-  
 " on the great as well as the little, upon stran-  
 " gers as well as my own subjects, I have re-  
 " ceived and assisted him, his Ministers, Offi-  
 " cers

cers and Soldiers in every respect, and for three years and a half, have never held my hand from loading him with presents: "I have granted him a very considerable guard to conduct him into his own country. He had asked for 1000 purses to defray some expences, though I pay them all. Instead of 1000 I have granted him 1200. After getting these out of the hands of the Senasquier of Bender, he desires 1000 more; and refuses to go, under a pretence that the guard is too little; whereas it is but too large to pass thro' the country of a friend and ally.

"I ask you, then, whether it be a breach of the laws of hospitality to send this Prince away; and whether foreign Princes ought to accuse me of cruelty or injustice, in case I should be obliged to make him go by force?" All the Divan answered, that the Grand Signior might lawfully do what he had said.

The Musi declared, that the Mussulmans are not bound to hospitality towards Infidels, much less towards the ungrateful; and he granted his *Fetfa*, a kind of mandate, which for the most part accompanies the important orders of the Grand Signior.

The Order and the *Fetfa* were carried to Bender by the *Bouïouk Imraour*, Grand Master of the Horse, and a *Chinous Basha*, first Usher. The Basha of Bender received the order at the Kam's, from whence he went immediately to Varnissa, to know whether the King would go away in a friendly manner, or force him to execute the Sultan's orders.

Charles XII. did not use to this threatening language, could not command his temper. "Obey your master, says he to the Basha, if you dare,

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CARTER



and be gone out of my presence." The B  
 a went off in a rage, and the same day discov  
 nued the supply of the King's provisions, an  
 moved the guard of Janisaries. He se  
 so to the *Poles* and *Cossacks* at *Varnitsa*, to k  
 om know, that if they had a mind to have a  
 provisions, they must leave the King of Sweden  
 mp, and come and put themselves under ti  
 rection of the *Porta* at *Bender*. They all obe  
 d, and left the King, with only the Officers  
 is household, and 300 *Swedes*, to cope wi  
 2000 *Tatars* and 6000 *Turks*; and now ther  
 as no more provision in the camp either fr  
 an or horse.

Immediately the King gave orders to sho  
 renty of the five *Arabian* horses the Grand Sig  
 or had sent him, saying, "I will neither hav  
 eir provisions nor their horses." This mad  
 noble feast for the *Tatars*, who, as all th  
 world know, think horse flesh delicious feeding  
 the mean time the *Turks* and *Tatars* invest  
 : little camp on all sides.

The King, with all the calmness in the work  
 ounted his 300 *Swedes* to make regular forti  
 tions, and worked at them himself. Hi  
 ancancellor, Treasurer, Secretaries, *Nobles*  
 nders, and all his domestics, put their hand  
 he work. Some barricaded the windows  
 rs fasten'd beams behind the doors in th  
 of buttresses.

When the house was well barricaded, an  
 King had taken a view of his supposed forti  
 ions, he sat calmly down to chess with hi  
 urite *Grothufen*, as if every thing had been  
 ctly safe and secure. It happened very  
 ly, that *Fabricius*, the Envoy of *Holstein*  
 ot lodge at *Varnitsa*, but at a Village be

tween *Varnitsa* and *Bender*, where Mr. *Jeffreys*, the *English* Envoy to the King of *Sweden*, resided also. The two Ministers, seeing the storm ready to break out, took upon them to be mediators between the *Turks* and the King. The *Kam*, and especially the *Basha* of *Bender*, who had no inclination to offer any violence to the Monarch, were glad to receive the offers the two Ministers made them. They had two conferences together at *Bender*, at which the Usher of the *Seraglio*, and the Grand Master of the horse, who brought the Sultan's order and the *Musli's Fetfa*, assisted.

Monsieur *Fabricius* declared to them, that his *Swedish* Majesty had great reason to believe they designed to deliver him to his enemies in *Poland*. The *Kam*, and *Basha*, and the rest, laying their hands upon their heads, called God to witness, that they detested such a horrible piece of treachery, and would lose the last drop of their blood rather than suffer the least failure of respect to the King in *Poland*. They added, that they had the *Moscovite* and *Polsish* Ambassadors in their hands, whose lives should answer for the least affront that should be offered the King of *Sweden*. In a word, they complained bitterly that the King should entertain such injurious suspicions of persons, who had so generously received and so handsomely treated him. M. *Fabricius* suffered himself to be persuaded by these barbarians. He was sensible there was a correspondence between the *Kam* of *Tartary* and King *Augustus*; but yet he remained convinced that the design of that negotiation was only to force *Charles XII.* to retire out of the territories of the Grand Signior. But whether *Fabricius* was mistaken or not, he assured them, he

would represent to the King the injustice of those jealousies; But do you intend to force him to be gone; *says he*. Yes, *says the Basba*, such is our Master's order. Then he desired them to consider once again, whether that order was to spill the blood of a crowned Head? "Yes, *replies the Khan*, *from a myrm*, if that crowned Head disobeys the Grand Signior in his own dominions."

In the mean time every thing being ready for the assault, *Cham's* death seemed inevitable: But the Sultan's command being not positively to kill him in case of resistance, the Basba prevailed upon the Khan to let him send an express that moment to *Adrianople*, where the Grand Signior then was, to receive his Highness's last orders.

*M. Jefferys* and *M. Fabricius* having procured this little respite, ran to acquaint the King with it, but were received very coldly: He called them voluntary, and unauthorized medistors, and still insisted, that the Sultan's order and the Mufti's *Fetfa* were forged, because they had sent for fresh orders to the *Porte*.

The *English* Minister withdrew, resolving to concern himself no more with the affairs of so inflexible a Prince. *M. Fabricius*, beloved by the king, and more used to his humour than the *English* Minister, staid with him, in order to conjure him not to hazard a life so precious, upon so unnecessary an occasion.

The King, instead of an answer, shewed him his fortifications, and desired him to be a medistor only so far as to procure him provisions. Leave was easily obtained from the *Turks* to let provisions pass to the King's camp, till such time

me as the courier should arrive from *Adrianople*.

At length the Grand Signior's order being come, to put to the sword all the *Suedes* that would make the least resistance, and not to spare the life of the King, the *Basha* had the civility to show *Fabritius* the order, to the intent that he might try his utmost to prevail upon *Charles*. *Fabritius* went immediately to acquaint him with his bad news. "Have you seen the order ye speak of?" says the king. "I have," replies *Fabritius*. "Tell them then," says the king, "that the order is a second forgery of theirs, and that it will not go." *Fabritius* fell at his feet, protesting himself in a passion, and reproached him with his obstinacy; but all was to no purpose. "Come back to your *Turks*," says the King to him smiling, "if they attack me, I know how to defend myself."

*General Nord*, and *General Dardoff*, who in opinion it had always been not to venture a battle, which in the consequence must prove fatal, hewed the King their breasts covered with wounds they received in his service; and assisting him, that they were ready to die for him, begged that it might at least be upon a necessary occasion. "I know," says the king, "your wounds and my own, that we have fought valiantly together. You have hitherto done your duty: do it again now." There was nothing more to be said; they must obey. Every one was ashamed not to court death with the King. His Majesty being prepared for the worst, appointed every man to his post. The *Chancellor Mallon*, the *Secretary Empereur*, and his Clerks were to defend the *Chancery-house*. *Baron Fief*, at the head of the Officers of

kitchen, was at another post. The Grooms of the stables and the Cooks had another place to guard.

It was not long before they saw the *Turks* and *Tartars* advancing in order of battle to attack the little fortrels, with ten pieces of ordnance and two mortar-pieces. The horse-tails waved in the air, the clarions sounded, the cries of *Alla, Alla*, were heard on all sides. Baron *Grothusen* took notice that the *Turks* did not mix any abusive language against the King in their cries, but only called him *Demir-Basha*, which signifies *head of Iron*, and resolved that moment to go alone and unarmed out of the fortifications. He advanced up to the line of the Janisaries, who had almost all of them received money from him. "Ah, what my friends! says he to them, in their own language, are you come to massacre 300 defenceless *Swedes*? You brave Janisaries, who have pardoned 100,000 *Moscovites* upon their crying *Amman* (i. e. Pardon) to you: Have you forgot the kindness you have received from us? And would you assassinate that great King of *Sweden*, whom you loved so much, and who has been so generous to you? My friends, he asks but three days, and the Sultan's orders are not so strict as you are made to believe."

These words produced an effect which *Grothusen* himself did not expect. The Janisaries swore upon their beards, they would not attack the King, and that they would give him the three days he demanded. In vain was the signal given for the assault. The Janisaries far from obeying, threatened to fall upon their Leaders, if three days were not granted to the King.

King of Sweden. They came to the Bashas of Bender's tent in a body, crying out that the Sultan's orders were forged. To this unexpected insurrection the Bashas had nothing to oppose but patience.

He made as if he was pleased with the generous resolution of the Janisaries, and ordered them to retreat to Bender. The Kam of Tartary, who was a hot forward man, would have given the assault immediately with his troops; but the Bashas, who did not design the Tartars alone should have had the honour of taking the King, when he perhaps might be punished for the disobedience of his Janisaries, persuaded the Kam to wait till the next day.

The Bashas returning to Bender, assembled all the Officers of the Janisaries and the oldest Soldiers, and both read to them, and shewed them the positive order of the Sultan, and the *Mutis's Fesha*.

Sixty of the oldest of them, with venerable grey beards, who had received a thousand presents from the King's hand, offered to go in person to him, and intreat him to put himself into their hands, and permit them to serve him as guards.

The Bashas consented to it; for their was no expedient he would not try, rather than be forced to kill the King. Accordingly these sixty old Soldiers went the next morning to *Varatsfa*, having nothing in their hands but long white staves, the only arms of the Janisaries, when they are not going to fight.

They addressed themselves to *Baron Grobner* and *Chancellor Muller*. They told them, they were come with a design to serve as faith-  
ful

ful guards to the King; and that, if he pleased, they would conduct him to *Adrianople*, where he might speak to the Grand Signior in person. While they were making this proposal, the King read the letters that were brought from *Constantinople*, and which *Fabricius*, who could not see him any more, had conveyed privately to him by a Janissary. These letters were written by Count *Poniatosky*, who could neither serve him at *Bender* nor *Adrianople*, having been detained at *Constantinople*, by order of the *Porte*, from the time of the imprudent demand of the 1000 purses. He told the King, that the Sultan's orders to seize or massacre his royal Person, in case of resistance, were but too true; that the Sultan indeed was imposed upon by his Ministers; but the more he was imposed upon in this affair, the more he would be obeyed; that he must submit to the times, and yield to necessity.

But neither the proposal of the old Janissaries, nor *Poniatosky's* letters, could in the least convince the King, that it was possible for him to give way without injuring his honour. He chose rather to die by the hand of the *Turks*, than be in any manner their prisoner. He dismissed the Janissaries without seeing them, and sent them word, that if they did not go about their business, he'd shave their beards for them; which, in the East, is reckoned the most provoking affront that can be offered.

These old Soldiers, fired with resentment, returned home, crying as they went: "Ah this head of iron! Since he's resolved to perish, let him perish." They gave the *Basha* an account of their commission, and acquainted their com-

comrades at *Bender*, with the strange reception they had met with. Upon this every one swore to obey the *Basha's* Orders without delay.

The word was given that moment. They march'd up to the intrenchments. The *Tartars* were already waiting for them, and the cannon began to play.

The *Janisaries* on one side, and the *Tartars* on the other, forced this little camp in an instant, and the whole 300 *Swedes* were surrounded and taken prisoners without resistance. The King was then on horseback between his house and his camp, with the Generals *Mond*, *Dardoff* and *Sperre*; and seeing that all his soldiers had suffered themselves to be taken before his eyes, he said in cool blood to those three officers, "Let us go and defend the house."

Immediately he gallops up to the house with them, where he had placed about forty domesticks as centinels, and which they had fortified in the best manner they could.

But when they came to the door, they found it beset with *Janisaries*. Besides, near 200 *Turks* or *Tartars* had already got in at a window, and made themselves masters of all the apartments, except a great hall, whither the King's domesticks had retired. It happened luckily, that this hall was near the door, at which the King purposed to enter with his little troop of twenty persons. He threw himself off his horse with pistol and sword in hand, and his followers did the same.

The *Janisaries* fell upon him on all sides, being encouraged by the *Basha's* promise of eight ducats of gold to each man that should but touch his cloaths, in case they could take him. He wounded



wounded and killed all who came near him. A Janissary, whom he had wounded, clapped his blunderbuss to his face, and if the arm of *Turk* had not jostled him, the King had been killed. The ball grazed upon his nose, and took off a piece of his ear, and then broke General *Hoord's* arm, whose fate it was to be ways wounded by his Master's side.

The King stuck his sword into the Janissary's breast, and at the same time his domesticks who were shut up in the great hall, opened the door to him. He enters as swift as an arrow with his little troop, and in an instant they shut the door again, and barricade it with all they can find.

Thus was *Charles XII.* shut up in this hall with all his attendants, amounting to above three-score men, Officers, Guards, Secretaries, *Maître de Châmbres*, and domesticks of all kinds.

The Janissaries and *Tatars* pillaged the rest of the house, and filled the apartments. *Count Saxe* the King, let us go and drive out these barbarians! And putting himself at the head of his men, he with his own hands, opened the door of the hall which faced his bed-chamber, goes into it, and fires upon the plunderers.

The *Turks* laden with booty, being terrified at the sudden appearance of the King, whom they had been used to reverence, threw down their arms, and leapt out of the window, or fled into the cellars. They pursued the *Turks* from chamber to chamber, killed or wounded those who had not made their escape, and in a quarter of an hour cleared the house of the enemy.

The *Swedes* shut the windows again, and barricadoed them. In this situation they had no want of arms; a ground-chamber full of muskets and powder, having escaped the tumultuous search of the *Janisaries*. These they made a very seasonable use of, firing close upon the *Turks* through the windows, and killing 200 of them in less than half a quarter of an hour.

The cannon played against the house; but the stones being very soft, it only made holes in the wall, but demolished nothing.

The *Kam* of *Tartary* and the *Basha* set fire to the house, in order to oblige the King to surrender. The roof all on fire was ready to tumble upon the *Swedes*. The King, with a very serene air, gave orders to extinguish the fire; and finding a little barrel full of liquor, he laid hold on it himself, and, with the assistance of two *Swedes*, threw it upon the place where the fire was most violent: Then he discovered that it was full of brandy. Upon this it burnt more furiously than ever: The King's apartment was consumed, and the great hall, where the *Swedes* then were, was filled with a terrible smoke, mixed with gusts of fire, that came in thro' the doors of the neighbouring apartments. One half of the roof fell in, and the other tumbled down without the house, cracking among the flames.

A centinel named *Walleng*, ventured in this extremity, to cry, that there was a necessity for surrendering. "What a strange man, says the King, is this, to imagine that it is not more glorious to be burnt than taken prisoner!" Another centinel named *Rafu*, had the thought to say, that the Chancery-house, which was  
but

but fifty paces off, had a stoffe roof, and was proof against fire: that it would do well to fall out and gain that house, and there stand upon their defence. A true Swede, tries the King. Then he embrated him, and made him a Colonel upon the Spot. "Come on, my Friend says he, take all the powder and ball you can carry, and let us gain the Chancery sword hand."

The *Turks*, who encompassed the house, were struck with fear and admiration, to see that the *Swedes* continued in it notwithstanding it was all in flames. But they were much more surprized, when they saw them open the door, and the King and his men fall upon them in desperate manner. *Charles* and his princely Officers were armed with sword and pike. Every one fired two pistols at a time, in the instant that the door opened; and throwing away their pistols and drawing their swords, they drove the *Turks* back the distance of fifty paces; but the moment after, this little troop was surrounded. The King, being booted, threw himself down with his spurs. Immediately one and twenty *Janisaries* fall upon him, disarmed him; and bear him away to the *Basha's* quarters, some taking hold of his arms, and others of his legs, as the manner is to carry a sick person for fear of discommoding him.

As soon as the King saw himself in their hands; the violence of his temper, and the fury which so long and desperate a fight would naturally inspire, gave place to a gentle and calm behaviour. Not one impatient word fell from him; not a frown was to be seen. On the con-

trary he looked upon the Janisaries with a smiling countenance, and they carried him crying *Alla*, with a mixture of anger and respect in their faces. His Officers were taken at the same time, and stripped by the *Turks* and *Tatars*. It was on the 12th of *February*, 1713, that this strange adventure happened.

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C H A P. VII.

*The Turks remove King Charles to Demirtocca. He returns to his Kingdom. His arrival at Strælsund.*

**T**HE Bascha of *Bender* waited in his tent, expecting the King; whom he received with great respect, and prayed him to repose upon a *Sopha*, but the King took no notice of his civilities, and continued standing.

*Blessed be the Almighty*, says the Bascha, *that your Majesty is safe*. It grieves me that you have forced me to execute the Sultan's orders. The King, for his part, was only vexed that his 300 men should suffer themselves to be taken in their intrenchments, and said, *Ab! if they had fought like men, we could have held it out these ten days*. Alas, says the Bascha, *what pity it is, that so much valour should be misemployed!* Then the King was conducted on a fine Horse with rich furniture to *Bender*. All the *Swedes* were either killed or taken. The King's equipage, goods, and papers, and the best of his baggage, was plundered or burnt. In the roads, the *Swedish* Officers naked, and chained

two and two, followed the horses of the *Tartars* and *Janisaries*. The Chancellor and the General Officers were in the same condition of being slaves to some of the soldiers, to whose share they fell.

The *Basha Ismael* having brought the King to his Palace at *Bender*, gave him his own apartment, where he was served like a King, but not without a guard of *Janisaries* at the chamber-door. A bed was prepared for him; but he threw himself down upon a *Sopha* in his boots, and fell fast asleep. The *Basha* likewise brought to the King, his Favourite *Grotbuse* and Colonel *Ribbins*, whom he was so generous to redeem at his own expence. *Fabrizius* undertook to ransom all the other prisoners.

The next morning they conveyed the King in a chariot covered with scarlet towards *Adrianople*. His Treasurer *Grotbuse* was with him. The Chancellor *Mullern*, and some Officers followed in another carriage. Many others were on horseback, who could not refrain tears at the sight of the King's chariot. The *Basha* himself commanded the convoy. *Fabrizius* said it was a shame the King should be without a sword, and begged of the *Basha* that he might be allow'd to wear one. *God forbid!* says the *Basha*, *he would soon cut our Beards for us, if he had a sword*. However, he gave him one some hours after.

While they were carrying this King disarmed and a prisoner, there happened to appear in the very same place another instance of the frailty of human greatness.

King *Stanislaus*, was seized in the *Turk's* dominions, and carried prisoner to *Bender* at the same

same time that they were conveying *Charles* to *Adrianople*.

*Stanislaus*, unsupported by the hand that made him King, having no money, and consequently no friends in *Poland*, retired to *Pomerania*; and as he was not able to preserve his kingdom, he resolved to abdicate it, and for that purpose wrote to the King of *Sweden*, to desire his consent.

*Charles* received the letter at *Varnista*; and in a passion said to the courier, before a good many people: *Well, if he will not be a King, I shall think of somebody else.* *Stanislaus* thought if he should go himself it might do better. So he took with him *Baron Sparre*, and changing his clothes, for fear of being known, came to *Tassi* in *Moldavia*, near the place where the *Czar* had such a narrow escape from the *Turks*. At *Tassi* he was stopped, and questioned. He said he was a *Swede*, and going to the King at *Bender*.

Saying he was a *Swede*, they immediately seized him, and carried him prisoner to *Bender*. He was quickly known, and word was brought of it to the *Basha*, as he was going along with the King of *Sweden*. The *Basha* bid *Fabricius* to tell *Charles*, that he was not the only King a prisoner to the *Turks*; and that *Stanislaus* was in hold a few miles from him. The King not at all discomposed, said to him, *Dear Fabricius run and tell him, never to make peace with King Augustus, for we shall quickly have a change of affairs.* Such was his firmness of mind, that notwithstanding his present situation, he boldly reckoned upon fortune, not doubting but the *Ottoman Porte* would assist him with 100,000 men.

Book  
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1962

1. The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is noted that the English language has a long and rich history, and that the study of its history is essential for a full understanding of the language. The paper then discusses the various factors that have influenced the development of the English language, including the influence of other languages, the influence of social and cultural changes, and the influence of technological advances.

2. The second part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is noted that the English language has a long and rich history, and that the study of its history is essential for a full understanding of the language. The paper then discusses the various factors that have influenced the development of the English language, including the influence of other languages, the influence of social and cultural changes, and the influence of technological advances.



*Stanislaus* was received at *Bender* with a discharge of the artillery, and bating that he was a prisoner, had no great cause to complain of his usage there.

The Marquis de *Fierville*, a private agent from *France* to King *Charles* at *Bender*, was then at *Adrianople*, and undertook to do that Prince a piece of service when he was either deserted or ill used by all the world; he was luckily assisted in this design by a *French Gentleman*, of a good family, one *Villelongue*, a man of great courage and but little fortune, who was come thither on purpose to engage in his service.

With this young man's help *M. de Fierville* wrote a memorial as from the King of *Sweden* demanding justice of the Sultan for the wrong offered in his Person to all crowned Heads, and against the real, or suspected treachery of the *Kam* and the *Basha* of *Bender*.

It contained an accusation of the *Visir* and other Ministers, that they were corrupted by the *Moscovites*, had deceived the Grand Signior, had intercepted his letters, and had cunningly drawn from the Sultan an order so contrary to the hospitality of the *Mussulmans*, in violation of the law of nations, and in a manner so unworthy of a great Emperor, to attack with 20,000 men a King, who had none but his retinue to defend him, and who had depended upon the sacred word of the Sultan."

When they had drawn up this memorial, it was to be translated, and written upon a sort of paper that they never use but for what is presented to the Sultan. They got the memorial translated, and the Baron d'*Arvidson*, a *Swedish* Officer, counterfeited the King's hand, and

*Fierville*

## C H A R L E S XII.

*terville* sealed it with the arms of *Sweden*. *Villelongue* undertook to deliver it to the Grand Signior as he passed to the mosque.

The Visir, who could not but think the *Swedes* would sue for justice to the Sultan, forbade any person to come near the Grand Signior, and ordered, that whoever was seen about the mosque with petitions should be seized. *Villelongue* knew the order, and that it was as much as his life was worth to do it. However, putting on a *Grecian* habit, and hiding the letter in his bosom, went pretty early to the place. He pretended madness, and danced between the files of Janisaries, where the Sultan was passing; and dropped some money now and then to amuse the guards.

When the Sultan was coming, they would have had *Villelongue* got out of the way; but he fell on his knees, and struggled with the Janisaries. At last his cap fell off, and he was discovered by his hair to be a *Frank*. He had several blows, and was very ill used. The Grand Signior heard the scuffle, and asked what the matter was? *Villelongue* cried, as loud as he could, *Atman! Atman! Mercy!* and pulled out the letter. The Sultan ordered him to be brought before him. *Villelongue* ran immediately, and embracing his stirrup, presented the paper, saying, *Sued Krall Dan. The King of Sweden gives it thee.* The Sultan, putting the letter in his bosom, went on to the mosque, and *Villelongue* was secured in one of the houses of the Seraglio.

The Sultan, coming from the mosque, when he had read the letter, resolved to examine the prisoner himself. He put off his imperial ha-

and turban, and went in the disguise of an Officer of the Janisaries, which he often does, taking with him an old *Maltese* for an interpreter. By the favour of this disguise, *Villelongue* had a private conference of a quarter of an hour with the *Turkish* Emperor, an honour that was never done to any *Christian* Ambassador. He took care to relate all the King of *Sweden*'s hardships, accusing the Ministers, and demanding satisfaction: This he did with the greatest freedom, because all the while he talked to the Sultan, he was thought to believe himself speaking to his equal. Nor but he knew him well, though the prison was pretty dark; and this made him only the more bold in his discourse. The pretended Officer of the Janisaries said to *Villelongue*; Christian, be satisfied, the Sultan my Master has the Soul of an Emperor, and if it be as you say, he will do your King justice. *Villelongue* was soon released, and some weeks after there was a sudden change in the Seraglio, which the *Swedes* affirm was owing to this conference. The *Mufti* was deposed. The *Kam* of the *Tartars* banished to *Rhodes*, and the *Serasquier* *Basha* of *Bender* sent to an island in the *Archipelago*.

In the mean time *Charles* was carried to a little castle called *Demirtash*, near *Adrianople*, where multitudes of *Turks* were waiting to see him alight. He was conveyed out of the chariot to the castle upon a sofa; but that he might not be seen, he put a cushion over his head.

It was several days before the *Porte* would consent to his residing at *Demotica*, a little town six leagues from *Adrianople*, near the famous river *Hebrus*, now called *Morizza*. At last *Com-*

*mourci*

*mourgi* said to *Soliman* the Grand Visir, Go, tell the King of Sweden he may stay at *Demotica* as long as he lives. I warrant he will be for removing before the year comes about; but be sure you do not let him have any money.

So the King was removed to *Demotica*, where the *Porte* allowed a sufficient quantity of provisions for him and his retinue, and only five and twenty crowns a day in money, to buy pork and wine, a sort of provision which the *Turks* never furnish to others.

Before the King and his little court were well settled at *Demotica*, *Soliman* the Grand Visir was deposed, and succeeded by *Ibrahim Molla*, a man exceeding rough, bold, and blunt, who was no sooner in his post, but he promoted a war with the *Moscovites*. In order to this, he set up a tent near the castle where the King of Sweden lived.

There he invited the King to meet him with the new Kam of *Tartary* and the *French* Ambassador. The King's misfortunes made him the more sensible of the indignity, to be sent for by a subject; so he ordered his Chancellor *Mullern* to go in his room: And because he did not know but the *Turks* might offer some affront to him, or something below his dignity, he resolved to keep his bed during his stay at *Demotica*. This he did for ten months as if he had been sick. None but the Chancellor *Grotthusen*, and Colonel *Dubens*, ever eat with him. They were forced to wait upon themselves, and the Chancellor *Mullern* was cook in ordinary the whole time.

While *Charles* kept his bed in this manner, he received news of the desolation of all his foreign dominions.

General

General *Steinbock* defended *Pomerania*, *Bremen*, and the King's possessions in *Germany*, as long as he was able, but could not hinder the *Saxons* and *Danes* united from passing the *Elbe*, and besieging *Stade*, a strong town near that river in the Duchy of *Bremen*. It was bombarded and burnt to ashes, and the garrison obliged to surrender at discretion, before *Steinbock* could come to their assistance.

He had about 12,000 men, and half of them were cavalry, with which he pursued the enemy, though they were twice his number, and forced them to repass the *Elbe*; and came up with them at a place called *Gadebusch*, in the Duchy of *Mecklenbourg*, on the 20th of *December*, 1712.

*Steinbock* led on his troops, and advancing in order of battle, began one of the most bloody engagements that had ever happened between those rival nations. After a sharp encounter of three hours, the *Danes* and *Saxons* were defeated and left the field.

After this victory, *Steinbock* could not but remember how the *Danes* had reduced *Stade* to ashes; and resolved to be revenged upon *Altena*, a town belonging to the King of *Denmark*, below *Hamburg* upon the river *Elbe*. When *Steinbock* came in sight of the place, he sent a trumpet to bid them evacuate it with their effects, for he was resolved to destroy their town immediately.

The magistrates came and threw themselves at his feet, and offered him a ransom of 100,000 crowns. *Steinbock* demanded twice the sum. They begged they might have time to send to their correspondents at *Hamburg*, and promised he should have it by the next day. The  
General

The day was set; and *Charles* before he it was willing to make a figure as a King, withstanding the wretched condition he in. He made *Grothusen* his Ambassador extraordinary, and sent him in form to take leave at *Constantinople*, with a train of four persons richly dressed. To bear the expense of this Embassy, he was forced to borrow money of *Jews, Turks, and Christians*, at exorbitant interest. At the *Porte*, *Grothusen* all the honours that were ever paid to Ambassadors extraordinary upon their day of audience. All this was done with a view to get money out of the Grand Visir; but that ministry was inexorable.

On the 1st of *October*, 1714, the King began journey. A *Capigi Basba* with six *Chiaus*, it to attend him from the castle of *Demirtash*, thither he had removed a few days before. The presents they brought him from the Grand vizier were; a large tent of scarlet embroidered with gold, a sabre, the handle of which set with jewels, and eight beautiful *Arabs*, horses with fine saddles and stirrups of silver.

The convoy consisted of three score carriages, laden with all sorts of provision, and 300000.

When he came to the *Turkish* frontiers, *Stanislaus* was going thence another way into *Poland*, intending to retire into the Duchy of *rex-Ponts*, which, from the time it was added to that crown by *Christiana's* successor *Charles X.* had belonged to the Kings of *Sweden*. *Charles* assigned to *Stanislaus* the revenue of this Duchy, which was then reckoned to about 70,000 crowns.

When

When the King of Sweden came to the German frontiers, he found the Emperor had given orders for his reception every where with proper state. But Charles had no inclination to so much pomp, or to make a shew of the prisoner at *Bender*, and had even form'd a resolution never to enter his City of *Stockholm*, till he had retrieved his misfortunes by a more auspicious turn of affairs.

So dismissing his Turkish attendants at *Targowitz*, on the borders of *Transylvania*, he called his people together in a yard, and bad them take no thought for him, but make the best of their way, to *Stralsund* in *Pomerania*, about 300 leagues from thence, up the *Baltic Sea*.

For a disguise he wore a black peruke, under which he tucked his own hair, a gold laced hat, grey clothes, and a blue cloke, passing for a German officer, and rid post with only Colonel *During*.

Thus, in sixteen days riding, and often in danger of being taken, he came at last upon the 21st of November 1714, to the gates of *Stralsund*, about one in the morning.

The King said, he was a Courier from the King in Turkey, and must speak immediately with General *Duker* the Governor. The Centinel told him, it was too late, the Governor was a-bed, and he must stay till day-light.

The King said it was an affair of consequence; and declared if he did not go directly and awake the Governor, they should all be hanged in the morning. At last a serjeant went and called the Governor, who ordered the Courier to be brought up to his chamber.

*Duker*, rubbing his eyes, asked, "What news of his Majesty?" The King took him by the shoulder,

houlder, "What, says he; *Duker*, have my best Subjects forgot me?" The General could scarce believe his eyes, and jumping out of bed; embraced his Master's knees wsth tears of joy. The news was all over the town in an instant. Every body got up; the soldiers came about the Governor's house. The streets were full of people, asking if the news were true?

However, the King was put to bed, which was more than he had been for sixteen days; they were forced to cut off his boots, his legs were so swollen with the fatigue. He had neither linen, nor clothes; and they provided in haste whatever they could find to fit him. When he had slept some hours, the first thing he did was to review his troops, and examine the fortifications. And that very day he sent out orders into all parts for renewing the war with more vigour than ever against all his enemies.

*Europe* was now in a condition very different from what it was when King *Charles* left it in 1709.

The war was over in the South, between Germany, England, Holland, France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy.

The alterations in the north were of another nature; the Kings there were at war, united all against the King of Sweden.

*Augustus* had been long restored to the crown of Poland by the assistance of the Czar, and with consent of the Emperor, Queen Anne, and the States General, who tho' Guarantees for the treaty of *Altranstadt* in *Charles's* better days, thought no more of their obligations that way, when they found there was nothing more to fear from him.

M

*Pultowa,*



*Pultowa*, and the absence of *Charles*, by which *Stanislaus* fell, occasioned also the Duke of *Halslein's* fall, who, being *Charles's* nephew, was dispossessed of his dominions by the King of *Denmark*.

Of that he lost, every one was catching what he could. *Frederick William*, the re King of *Prussia*, who seemed as much incline to war as ever his father was to peace, took *Stettin* and a part of *Pomerania* for 400,000 crowns, which he advanced to the King of *Denmark* and the Czar.

*George*, the Elector of *Hanover*, who was to come to be King of *England*, had likewise to guster'd into his hands the Dutchy of *Brera* and *Verden*, which the King of *Denmark* had assigned to him as a deposit for 60,000 pistoles, which he lent that prince.

The Czar indeed was most of all to be feared. *Riga*, *Livonia*, *Ingria*, *Carelia*, part of *Finland*, and all the countries that had been won by *Charles's* ancestors, were now subject to the *Moscovite*.

While Prince *Galliesin* completed the conquest of *Finland*, took *Vasa*, and beat the *Swedes*, the Czar put to sea to make a descent on *Alan*, an island in the *Baltic*, about twelve leagues from *Stockholm*.

He went on this expedition in the beginning of *July*, 1714, while his rival *Charles* was in bed at *Demotica*. He embarked at *Gronslot*, a harbour which he had built a few years before, about four miles from *Petersbourg*.

The *Russian* fleet came to the heights of *Alan* on the 15th of *July*, consisting of thirty ships of the line, fourscore galleys, and a hundred half galleys, with 30,000 soldiers. Admiral *Apraxin*

as Commander, and the Emperor was Rear-admiral. The *Swedish* fleet came up with them on the 16th, commanded by Vice-Admiral *Erinchild*, not so strong by two thirds. They fought however for three hours. The *Czar* attacked the Admiral, and took her after sharp engagement.

The same day he landed 16000 men at *Aland*, and took a great many *Swedish* soldiers who could not get aboard the fleet, and carried them off prisoners in his own ships. Then he returned to *Cronslot*, with *Erinchild's* ship, and three lesser ones, a frigates, and six galleys, that he had taken.

*Sweden* had now lost all her foreign provinces, and had neither trade, money, nor credit; her veteran troops, who were once so formidable, were either killed or died for want. Above 100,000 *Swedes* were slaves in the vast Dominions of *Moscow*, and almost as many more were sold to the *Turks* and *Tartars*, and the very species of men was visibly decayed in the country; but notwithstanding all this, their hopes revived as soon as ever they heard their King was come to *Straeland*.

Such strong impressions of admiration and respect reigned in the hearts of all his subjects, that multitudes of young people came out of distant parts of the country, and offered themselves to be lifted, though there were not hands enough at home to cultivate the land.

## C H A P. VIII.

Charles marries his sister to the Prince of Hesse. He is besieged at Straelsund. The practices of Baron Goerts. Charles besieges Frederick-shall in Norway. Is killed. Goerts beheaded.

THE King, during these preparations, gave his only surviving sister, *Utric Eleonora*, in marriage to *Frederick*, Prince of *Hesse-Cassel*.

In June, 1715, the King of England's German forces, with those of Denmark, invested the strong town of *Wismar*. The Danes, the Prussians, and the Saxons, to the number of 36,000, marched in a body to *Straelsund*, in order to form the siege. Not far from *Straelsund*, five Swedish ships were sunk by the Danes and Prussians. The Czar kept the Baltic with twenty large men of war, and 150 transports that had 30,000 men aboard. He threatened a descent on Sweden, appearing on the coast of *Helsingbourg* and *Stockholm* by turns. All the country was in arms upon the coasts, expecting an invasion. His land forces were chasing the Swedes from all the places they possess in Finland towards the Gulph of *Bothnia*: But he attempted nothing farther.

At the mouth of the *Oder*, a river that divides *Pomerania*, and falls into the Baltic, there is a little island called *Usedom*.

On the 4th of August, the King of Prussia sent 1500 foot and 800 dragoons into this island; and they landed without opposition on the side of *Swine*, which fort the Swedish officer had left, being a place of least importance, and unwilling to divide his little company.

any, he retired with them into the castle: o  
*Penamandre*, resolving to hold out to the last  
 extremity.

They shipped artillery at *Stetin*, and sent in  
 a reinforcement of 1000 *Prussian* foot, and 400  
 horse. On the 18th they opened the trenches  
 in two places, and played a brisk battery of  
 cannon and mortars. In the time of the siege,  
 a *Swedish* soldier sent privately with a letter  
 from *Charles*, found means to land on the island,  
 and slip into *Penamandre*. He gave the letter  
 to the Commander, which was in these words:

*D*O not fire till the enemy comes to the brink of  
 the fosse: stand on your defence till the last  
 drop of blood. I commend you to your good fortune.

C H A R L E S .

*Duslerp* resolved to obey, and die, as  
 he was ordered, to serve his Master.  
 The 22d, by break of day, the assault  
 was given. The besieged made their fire as  
 directed, and killed abundance; but the fosse  
 was full, the breach large, and the besiegers  
 too numerous. They entered in two different  
 places at once. The commander now thought  
 he had nothing more to do than to obey his  
 orders, and sell his life dear: he abandoned  
 the breaches, and intrenched his little com-  
 pany. The enemy came on, wondering he  
 would not ask for quarter. But he fought a  
 whole hour, and when he had lost half his  
 soldiers, was killed at last with his Lieutenant  
 and his Major. There were then a hundred  
 men left, and one Officer, who asked their  
 lives, and were taken prisoners. In the Com-  
 mander's pocket they found his Master's letter,  
 which was carried to the King of *Prussia*.

At the time when *Charles* sustained the loss of *Usedom*, he himself was in *Straelsund*, besieged by the Kings of *Prussia* and *Denmark*, with 36,000 men.

There was in it a garrison of 9000 men, and, more than all, the King of *Sweden* himself.

The besiegers carried on their works with vigour, in which they were greatly assisted by an uncommon accident.

It is well known that the *Baltic* has no flux and reflux; and the retrenchment that covered the town was thought impracticable, having an unpassable marsh upon the West, and the sea on the East. Never any one had observed before that in a strong westerly wind, the waves of the *Baltic* roll back in such a manner as to leave but three feet water under the retrenchment. A soldier happening to fall from the top of it, was surprized to find a bottom, and imagined that discovery would make his fortune. He deserted, and went to Count *Werkbath's* quarters, who was General of the *Saxon* forces, telling him that the sea was fordable, and that it would be easy to carry the retrenchments. The King of *Prussia* was not wanting to improve the hint.

The next night, the wind being still at West, Lieutenant Colonel *Koppen* went into the water with 1800 men, 2000 advanced at the same time upon the causeway that led to the intrenchments: all the *Prussian* artillery fired, and the *Prussians* and *Danes* gave an alarm on the other side.

The *Swedes* were confident they could deal with those, who, according to all appearance, came on so rashly by the causeway; but *Ko-*

ben with his 1800 men entered the fortification from the sea, and so that they could make no head; and the post was carried after a prodigious slaughter. Some of the *Swedes* retired into the town, but the besiegers followed them, and some got in with those that fled. Two Officers, and four of the *Saxon* soldiers, were got upon the draw-bridge; but the *Swedes* had just time enough to raise it, and took the men, and so for that time the town was saved.

They found 24 pieces of cannon upon the retrenchments, which they turned against the town. The siege, after this success, was carried on with all possible eagerness, and the town was cannonaded and bombarded without remission.

Over-against *Straelsund*, upon the *Baltic*, is the island of *Rugen*, which serves for a defence to this place, whither the garrison and people could retire upon occasion, if they had but boats. *Charles* knew if once the enemy were masters of it, he should soon be invested both by sea and land. However, the ill state of his affairs had not allowed him to send more than 2000 regular troops into this island.

The enemy having built boats for the purpose, the Prince of *Anhalt*, by the favour of good weather, landed at last 12000 men upon the place on the 15th of *November*.

That very day the king had been defending an outwork for three hours, and coming back very much fatigued, he was told that the *Danes* and *Prussians* were in *Rugen*. It was eight o'clock at night, and he went directly in a fisher boat with *Poniatosky*, *Grothusen*, *During*, and *Dardof*, and by nine he got to the island. He joined his 2000 men, and marched with them at midnight in great silence. The Prince of *An-*

halt, who knew what *Charles* was capable of attempting, ordered a deep fesse to be sunk with *chevaux de frise* upon the edge of it.

At two in the morning *Charles* came to the enemies camp, without making the least noise. His soldiers said one to another, *Let us pull up the chevaux de frise*; which words were overheard by the Centinels; and the alarm being quickly given, the enemies stood to their arms. The King taking up the *chevaux de frise*, sees a great fesse. "Ay, says he, *is it possible! this is more than I expected!*" Not at all discouraged, and knowing nothing of their numbers, nor they of his, for the night favoured him in that, he resolved in an instant, jumped into the ditch, and some of the boldest with him, and all the rest were quickly after him. The King, the Generals, and the boldest of the Officers and soldiers mounted upon the shoulders of others as in assaults. The fight began in the enemies camp; and the vigour of the *Swedes* put the *Danes* and *Prussians* into great disorder; but their numbers being too unequal, the *Swedes* were repulsed in about a quarter of an hour, and repassed the fesse. The Prince of *Anhalt* pursued them to the plain, little thinking it was *Charles* who fled before him. The unfortunate King rallied his troops in the field, and the fight was renewed with equal warmth on both sides. He saw his favourite *Grothusen* and General *Dardof* fall, and passed over the last in fighting before he was quite dead. *Dartag*, his companion from *Tarby* to *Stralsund*, was killed before his face.

In the heat of the battle a *Danish* Lieutenant, knew the King of *Sweden*, and clapping one hand on his sword, and with the other seizing him

him by the hair ; “ Yield yourself a prisoner, “ Sir, said he, or I will kill you upon the “ spot.” *Charles* drew a pistol from his belt, and, with his left hand, fired it at the officer, who died of the shot the next morning. The name of King *Charles* which the *Dane* had pronounced, drew a crowd of enemies together in a moment, the King was immediately surrounded, and received a musket shot below his left breast. The wound, which he only called a contusion, was two fingers deep : The King was then on foot, and in the utmost danger of being either made a prisoner, or slain. Count *Poniatosky*, at this critical instant, fought near his Majesty’s person, and remounted him very seasonably.

The *Swedes* retired to a part of the island named *Alteforra*. From thence the King returned to *Straelsund*, and they were all made prisoners of war two days after.

The King, having only weakened himself, and continuing to be shut up in *Straelsund*, and ready to be taken, was yet the same as he had been before at *Bender* ; he was surpris’d at nothing. All the day he was making ditches and intrenchments behind the walls ; and at night he sallied out upon the enemy. The town however was shattered miserably, the bombs fell thick upon the houses, and half the town reduced to ashes. The inhabitants acted as soldiers under him ; following him to the sallies, and were now become as good as another garrison.

In four days the enemy made an assault upon the hornwork, which they took twice, and were as often beaten off. The King was always fighting among the grenadiers : But at  
last



last their numbers prevailing, they became masters of it. *Charles* continued in the place two days after that. The one and twentieth, he staid till midnight upon a little ravelin that was quite destroyed by the bombs and cannon. The next day the chief officers entreated him to stay no longer in a place which could not be defended. But to retreat was now as dangerous as to stay. The *Baltic* was covered with *Moscovite* and *Danish* ships, In the port of *Stralsund* there was a small bark with sails and oars. The extreme danger which made such a retreat glorious, induced *Charles* to consent to it, and he embarked the 20th of *December*, 1715, at night, with only ten persons. They were obliged to break the ice to get out, which took them up several hours before the vessel could make her way. The enemy's admiral had strict orders not to let *Charles* escape from *Stralsund* but to take him dead or alive. But they were under the wind, and so could not come near him. But his greatest danger was in passing by a place called *la Barbette*, in *Rügen*, where the *Danes* had fixed a battery of twelve cannon. They fired upon the king, but the sailors made all the sail they could, and got clear of them; and the King landed at *İsted* in *Scania*, and came to *Carelskroon*.

Being so near his capital, it was expected he would have gone thither after so long absence. But he could not bear to think of that till he had gained some signal victories,

At *Carelskroon*, where he staid the winter, he ordered new levies every where. He thought his subjects were only born to follow him to war, and he had used them all to think so too.

He lifted many who were but fifteen years old. In several villages there were none left but

but old men, children, and women; and in some places the women plowed the ground alone.

It was yet harder for him to have a fleet. But to bring that about, commissions were given to privateers, who provided him some ships. This was the last shift could be made in Sweden: to support the expence of which, it was necessary to break in upon the people's property, and there was no sort of extortion, but it was practised under the name of taxes.

They expected every moment to have the *Moscovites*, the *Danes*, the *Prussians*, the *Saxons*, and the *English*, making a descent into Sweden.

There is no going from Sweden to Norway, but thro' by-ways that are very dangerous; and after that one meets at every turn with flashes of water from the sea among the rocks, that bridges must be made once a day at least. A very few *Danes* might have stopped the *Swedish* Army; but such a quick invasion they could not foresee. Europe was yet more at a loss to find the Czar so quiet, and not making a descent into Sweden, as he had before agreed with his allies.

Henry Baron de Goerts, born in *Holstein*, and Minister of a Prince who had nothing left but the title of a Duke, had done great services to the King of Sweden during his stay at Bender; and was now become his favourite and first Minister.

No man ever was at once so bold and so insinuating, so full of shifts at an ill turn, or had such vast designs, or was so active in what he went about;

From Sweden he went to France, England, and Holland, to lay the foundation of those designs,

signs, which he intended afterwards to put in execution.

He found that of all the Princes who were in league against him, *Charles's* resentment was chiefly against *George*, Elector of *Hanover*, and King of *England*; because he was the only one to whom *Charles* had never given any cause of complaint, and who engaged in the quarrel under the pretext of mediation, and with the view of holding *Bremen* and *Verden*, which were bought for a trifle of the King of *Denmark*, whom they did not belong.

So long as from the year 1714, the *Czar* had it in his power to make a descent on *Sweden*; but for some political reasons put it off.

It was upon these grounds that *Goerts* had the design of a revolution; he proposed to the King of *Sweden* to make his peace at any time with the Emperor of *Moscovy*, insinuating, that the *Czar* was very angry with the Kings of *Ireland* and *England*, and giving him withal to understand, that *Peter Alexiowitz* and *Charles* together might make the rest of *Europe* tremble.

There was no making peace with the *Czar* without yielding up to him a good many provinces that lie to the East and North of the *Baltic*: But *Goerts* made his master sensible, that in yielding such places as the *Czar* was master of already, and himself in no condition to retrieve, he might have the honour of replacing *Stanislaus* on the throne of *Poland*, and setting the Pretender upon that of *England*, besides restoring the Duke of *Holstein* to his Dominions.

*Charles* was pleased with these grand ideas, though without building much upon them, and gave his Minister leave to act at large. *Goerts* left *Sweden* with full powers, which made him a Plen-

a Plenipotentiary to any Princes he had a mind to treat with. His first business was to try how the court of *Moscow* stood affected, which he did by the means of one *Areskine*, a *Scotsman*, the Czar's chief Physician, a man devoted to the Pretender's interest.

Prince *Menzicof* was pleased with the proposal, and the Czar came into it. Instead of a descent on *Sweden*, as had been agreed between him and his allies, he sent his troops to winter in *Mecklenburg*, and came there himself on pretence to settle some disputes between the Duke and his Nobles: but in reality to pursue his favourite purpose to gain a Principality in *Germany*, for which he hoped to make a bargain with the Duke.

*Charles* was all this while with his brother in law the Prince of *Hesse*, in *Norway*, at the head of 20,000 men; the country was defended by 11,000 *Danes* divided into several parties; which were all put to the sword by the King and Prince of *Hesse*.

He advanced towards *Christiana*, the capital of the Kingdom: and fortune began again to smile on him in this part of the world: but he never took a proper care to subsist his troops: while an army and fleet of *Danes* were coming to defend *Norway*, *Charles* for want of provisions was forced to retire to *Sweden*, there to wait the issue of his ministers designs.

There had been Pirates of all nations, especially *English*, who were in association infesting the seas of *Europe* and *America*. No quarter was given them, and they had retired to *Madagascar*, a large island on the east of *Africa*.

When they knew that *Charles* was come back to *Sweden*, they had great hopes, that he want-  
 N ing

ing a fleet and soldiers, would be glad of a composition with them upon easy terms; so they sent a person in a *Dutch* ship to propose to *Baron Goerts*, that they might be received at *Gatzenbourg*, where they promised to be ready with three-score ships laden with treasures.

The Baron brought the King into the business, and *Kromstrom* and *Mendal*, two *Swedish* Gentlemen, were sent soon after to transact with them.

But a more honourable and likely help was afterwards found in Cardinal *Alberoni*, an extraordinary Genius, who managed the affairs of *Spain* long enough for his own reputation, tho' not for the good and glory of that kingdom.

*Goerts*, having thus scatter'd in the courts of *Moscovy* and *Spain* the first sparks of the flame he intended to kindle, went privately to *France* and from thence to *Holland*, where he saw the adherents to the Pretender's party, with whom he concerted measures for carrying on his project.

Count *Gillenbourg*, the *Swedish* Ambassador in *England*, instructed by *Goerts*, had several meetings at *London*; he gave them great encouragement, and promised all they could wish.

But the main point without which there could be no success was, to settle a peace between the Czar and *Charles*; and many difficulties there were in the way. The Baron *Osterman*, minister of that state in *Moscovy*, was not so ready to agree with *Goerts*. He was as cautious as the other was warm.

Very luckily for *Goerts* the Czar himself came to *Holland*, in the beginning of the year 1717, with a design to visit *France*.

*Goerts*

*Goerts* had two conferences with the Emperor at the *Hague*, and by that made a better progress than he could have done in six months with Plenipotentiaries.

The first who discovered these intrigues was the Duke of Orleans, Regent of *France*. For he had spies in all the courts of *Europe*. The Duke, having personal obligations to the King of *England*, made a discovery of the whole design against him.

At the same time the *Hollanders* taking umbrage at *Goert's* behaviour, communicated their suspicions to the *English* Ministry. *Goerts* and *Gillenbourg* were going on briskly, when one was seized at the *Hague*, and the other in *London*.

*Gillenbourg*, as Ambassador from *Sweden*, having offended against the law of nations by his conspiracy against a Prince to whom he was sent in a public character, they did not scruple in *England* the violation of his person. But it was thought exceeding strange in the States General to imprison the Baron *de Goerts* out of mere complaisance to the King of *England*.

The King of *England* had done no more than right in seizing an Enemy: What they found among *Gillenbourg's* papers of letters between him and *Goerts* were printed to justify the King's proceedings. The King of *Sweden* was in *Scania*, when the printed letters came with the news of his Minister's being seized. He only smiled, and asked, if his letters were printed too? and order'd the *English* Resident, and all his family at *Stockholm* to be seized. But he could not take the same revenge upon the *Dutch*, because they had no Minister then at the Court of *Sweden*. However, he took no notice one way

or other of the thing; but kept a disdainful silence towards *England* and *Holland*.

The Czar, as he was not named but only hinted at by distant intimations in the letters of *Goerts* and *Gillenbourg*, he wrote a long letter full of civilities to the King of *Great Britain* upon the discovery, with great assurances of his sincere friendship. King *George* received his protestations without crediting them, tho' he seemed to suffer himself to be persuaded of their reality, and pretended to believe them. The Czar came to *Paris* in *May* 1717. His design was to make peace with the King of *Sweden*. who would yield to him many great countries: This treaty the Duke of *Orleans* rejected, and made a league with the Emperor and the King of *England*. All that the Czar could get by this application, was, that the Regent should interpose for the enlargement of Baron *Goerts* and *Gillenbourg*. He returned to *Moscow* about the end of *June*, having shewn *France* a rare example of an Emperor travelling for instruction.

What he looked for from the Duke of *Orleans*, he quickly found in Cardinal *Alberoni*, who now governed all in *Spain*. *Alberoni* wished for nothing more than to establish the Pretender.

The Duke of *Ormond* had left his country at the time of King *George's* accession, and was now in *Spain*. He went with full commission from the King of *Spain* and the Pretender, to meet the Czar upon his way to *Mittau* in *Courland*, and had with him one *Fernegan*, an *Englishman* of sense and spirit. The business was to ask the Princess *Anna Petrona*, the Czar's Daughter, in marriage for King *James's* pretended

tended son, in hopes that such an alliance would bring the Czar into the interest of that Prince. Baron *Goerts*, among the rest of his schemes, had long intended this lady for the Duke of *Holstein*, who married her afterwards. As soon as he heard of the Duke of *Ormond's* negotiation, he did all he could to defeat it. He was set at liberty in *August*, and so was Count *Gillenbourg*, without the King of *Sweden's* so much as offering any excuse to the King of *England*, and at the same time the *English* Resident, and all his family at *Stockholm*, were released.

When *Goerts* had obtained his Liberty, he went post to the Czar, who was better pleased than ever with him; for he undertook in less than three months, with but one Plenipotentiary from *Moscow*, to remove all obstructions to a peace with *Sweden*.

The Czar named the isle of *Aland* for the conference between *Osterman* and *Goerts*; and desired the Duke of *Ormond* to return to *Spain*, lest the *English* Court should take the alarm; but *Jernegan*, the Duke's confident, who was to manage matters, stay'd at *Petersburg*, lodged very privately, and whenever he saw any of the Czar's Ministers, it was always in disguise: and as for Baron *de Goerts*, he returned to *Sweden* with great hopes of success.

He found his master at the head of 30,000 regular troops, and all the coast guarded by the militia. The King wanted nothing but money; but public credit was lost at home and abroad. Baron *Goerts*, upon this, set on foot a project he had tried before. he went to *France* and *Holland*. It was, to make a piece of copper of the same value as silver: So that a half-penny, with the Prince's mark, might pass for thirty or forty pence.



The affairs of the Treasury demanding his attendance and immediate care, as soon as ever he had put them on a tolerable foot, he went away directly, to finish with *Osterman* the great work he had in hand.

In the mean time *Charles* was going to make a second attempt upon *Norway* in *October*, 1711 and he had laid matters so that he did not doubt to be master of that kingdom in six months. He rather chose to go and conquer rocks, amidst snow and ice, in the severity of the winter which kills the very animals in *Sweden*, where the air is less rigorous, than regain his beautiful provinces in *Germany*; but he hoped the new alliance which he was concluding with the Czar, would soon put him in a condition to retake them. Besides, his ambition was pleased with the thought of forcing a kingdom from his conquering enemy.

At the mouth of the river *Tistendall* stands *Fredericshall*, a place of great strength and importance, which is reckoned to be the key of that kingdom. *Charles* sat down before it in the month of *December*. The cold was so extreme, that the soldiers could hardly break the ground. They might as well have opened trenches in a rock; but the *Swedes* never thought much of any fatigues in which they saw their king take his share so readily; and *Charles* himself, never suffered more than now. His constitution, by eighteen years labour, was hardened to that degree, that he would sleep in the open field in *Norway*, covered only with his cloak, without prejudicing his health. Several of the soldiers in their posts fell down dead with cold, and others who were ready to die, durst not complain when they saw their  
King

King bear what they suffered. A little before this expedition, hearing of a woman in *Scania*, named *Joan Dotter*, who had lived several months upon nothing but water, he, who had studied all his life to bear the worst extremes that human nature can support, was resolved to try how long he was able to fast. He neither eat nor drank for five days, and on the sixth in the morning, he rid two leagues, and then alighted at the tent of his brother-in-law the Prince of *Hesse*, where he eat very heartily, without feeling the least disorder, either from his long fasting, or his full eating afterward.

On the 11th of *December*, being *St Andrew's* day, he went, about nine at night, to see the trenches; and finding the parallel not advanced to his mind, he was a little displeased; but *Monf. Megret*, a *French Engineer*, who conducted the siege, assured him, the place would be taken in eight days time. *We shall see*, says the King; and going on with the Engineer to examine the works, he stopped at a place where a branch of the trenches made an angle with the parallel, and kneeling upon the inner *talus*, or slope of the rampart, he leaned with his elbows on the parapet, to look on the men who were carrying on the trenches by star-light.

The King stood with half his body exposed to a battery of cannon exactly levelled at the angle where he was. Two *Frenchmen* were all who were then near his person, one was *Monsieur Siker*, his *Aid-de-camp*; the other was this Engineer. The cannon fired upon them with chain-shot, to which the King stood most exposed.

posed. Not far behind was Count *Saverin*, who commanded the trenches. Count *Posse*, Captain of the guards, and one *Kulbert*, an Aide-Camp received his orders. *Siker* and *Megret* saw the King fall upon the parapet, fetching a deep sigh. They ran to him, but he was already dead. A ball of half a pound he struck him on the right temple, and made hole big enough to turn their fingers in. His head lying over the parapet, the left eye was beat in, and the right was forced out of its socket. *Megret*, a man of great indifference, only said, *Let us be going, the play is done*. *Siker* ran immediately, and told Count *Saverin*, and they all agreed to keep it private till the Prince of *Hesse* could be informed of it. They covered the corpse with a grey cloke; *Siker* put on him his hat and wig, and he was carried by the name of Captain *Carlsbern* through the troops.

The Prince gave orders presently that none should stir out of the camp, and that all the passes to *Sweden* should be guarded, till he could take measures for his wife to claim the crown, and to exclude the Duke of *Holstein*.

As soon as the King was dead, the siege of *Fredericksball* was raised. The *Swedes* made peace with all their neighbours as fast as they could, and soon put an end to that absolute power which Baron *Goerts* had made them weary of. The States went to a free election of King *Charles's* sister for their Queen; and obliged her solemnly to renounce all hereditary right to the crown. She promised with repeated oaths never to set up arbitrary power; and afterwards, her love of power giving way

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ay to conjugal affection, she yielded the crown to her husband, and brought the States to choose him, who ascended the throne upon the same conditions.

*Goerts* was seized immediately upon *Charles's* death, and condemned by the Senate of *Stockholm* to be beheaded under the gallows.

THE END.



